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Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 491

EDITORIALS:
- Toward Understanding the Railroad Strike 494
- For a Better Race 495
- Housing in New York City 495
- Sweetness or Light 496

WALL STREET'S CONTROL OF RAILROAD LABOR POLICY. By Frank P. Walsh 497

BLACKMAIL A LA BOSTON. By Arthur Warner 499

GERMANY'S PINK SURGE. By S. Miles Bouton 501

TWO CHINESE POEMS. Translated by Witter Bynner and Kiang Kang-Hu 502

WHEN WILL WORK BEGIN AGAIN? By Scott Nearing 503

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 504

CORRESPONDENCE 504

BOOKS:
- Beauty and Wizardry. By James Branch Cabell 506
- It Was a Glorious Victory. By Norman Thomas 506
- The New Art of Russia. By L. Talmy 508

DRAMA:
- In the Silences: Duse. By Henrietta Straus 510

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
- Russian-Polish Relations 511
- Russia's New Industrial Policy 512
- Workmen's Insurance in Mexico 513
- The New Education Law in Yucatan 514
- The Socialist-Fascisti Truce in Italy 514
- France in Syria 516

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BOMB-THROWING in Paris is likely only to bring Sacco and Vanzetti nearer to the electric chair. Yet the mass demonstrations in their behalf, even though marred by the violence of a few madmen or provocateurs, were a rather fine manifestation of the internationalism of labor. It was just such a demonstration in Petrograd which first forced New York newspapers to pay attention to that still persistent crime, the treatment of Tom Mooney in San Francisco. Radicals in Europe, in particular Sacco's and Vanzetti's fellow-Italians, have a right to warn American public opinion that the decision in this case will be made not in a Massachusetts court alone, but before the bar of justice of the outraged working class of the world, and that in a large sense it is not so much Sacco and Vanzetti as American justice which is on trial. A hundred and thirty years ago French mobs hailed America as the seat of liberty; today they call us the center of capitalism's worst tyranny.

RESPONSIBILITY for the last monarchical coup in Hungary lies squarely upon Allied policy in Central Europe. Yet it is curious that many Hungarian liberals would prefer King Carl to the curse of Horthy. Reaction cares little if its tools be kings or regents, and Allied policy, in coddling Hungary, in permitting maintenance of her army, tolerating the White Terror, and failing to forestall the Burgenland adventure when it was in their power to do so, has encouraged reaction throughout Europe. For events in Hungary are closely watched by sympathizers in Austria and in Germany. The decision in Silesia is another blow at liberalism in Central Europe. Chanceller Wirth's earnest attempt to fulfil the peace treaty has met with no response in Allied decisions, and the result only adds strength to the Ludendorffs and Stinneses who look to both military and economic revenge. The catastrophic decline in the German mark—64 per cent in five months—is one symbol of the economic foolhardiness of Allied policy, and the increase of two and a half billion dollars in the French public debt since January 1, 1920, is another. Only a realization of its own economic interdependence can save Europe.

HOW often have we heard from newspaper editors and others that the Irish question was essentially religious, that "Home rule meant Rome rule," that Ireland was too clerical to be free! Yet no sooner does that good Catholic President De Valera write the Pope a plain letter about the Irish demand than the selfsame British and American editors become excessively grieved because, as they say, he was rude to the Pope in attempting to comment on the letter of King George. The episode shows the emptiness of the facile religious argument. It also shows a dangerous temper in England. King George called the Irish "my people." Mr. De Valera said, Not so. He knows how the British have sought to use the Vatican before this. If the British want to persuade the Irish to accept Dominion Home Rule the last way to do it is to howl with rage when they assert the right of a free people to make their own choice.

HOW far England has gone in the direction of the paternal state is shown in Lloyd George's new proposals to use state grants to revive trade. The Government proposes to guarantee credits assumed by export traders, to appropriate £25,000,000 as a guaranty on industrial loans in Great Britain, and £10,000,000 for relief work—forestry, land drainage, etc. This places a big burden upon the taxpayer, but if it revives business he may bear up under it. The London *Nation*, rather than pay the unemployed doles for doing nothing, would pay them for making goods for naked Russians, "even if only a small part of the cost could ever be recovered." Americans ought to observe the effect of these measures, for the revival of foreign trade and the end of unemployment are American as well as British problems. One feature of Mr. George's plan is significant; apparently the Government guarantees its exporters against loss, but they get any profit there may be. The Labor Party proposed to make the state the exporter, which would allow only limited profit to individual manufacturers. Under the old capitalist doctrine, profit as a stimulant to individual initiative was enough. Individualism has broken down before collectivism in the form, not of state socialism, but of state capitalism with private profit. The political as well as the economic consequences of the direct entry of the capitalist state into fierce competition with other capitalist states for foreign markets and foreign raw materials have a tremendous bearing on disarmament and peace.

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ACCORDING to the New York *Herald*, "Harding's economy plan turns a deficit into a big surplus." Treasury statistics are quoted to show that from July 1 to October 5 the "excess of ordinary receipts over ordinary disbursements totaled $310,914,308." This is excellent, but unfortunately there is also evidence that the Republicans at Washington are accomplishing some, at least, of their boasted economy by juggling with bookkeeping and appropriations. According to the *Searchlight* the second urgent deficiency bill, signed on June 16, contains the following provision:

> The statement of appropriations, etc., for the third session of the Sixty-sixth Congress shall include the Army, Naval, and second deficiency appropriation acts passed during the first session of the Sixty-seventh Congress, and all other appropriations made at the latter session shall be compiled and published with the statement of appropriations for the second session of the Sixty-seventh Congress.

This is certainly an easy road to economy, but it is not the only route to the goal. A news item in the *Electrical World* for September 24 indicates that the Navy Department is proceeding with battleship equipment for which no appropriations have yet been made. The item in question reads:

> George E. Emmons, in charge of manufacturing of the General Electric Company, has stated that the Navy Department has authorized the resumption of work on electrical equipment for one battle cruiser, with the understanding, however, that shipment will not be required until the next summer and that no payment for materials or labor will be made until the next government fiscal year.

Beside such financial wizardry the old method of robbing Peter to pay Paul pales into insignificance.

RATIFICATION of the German treaty removes the last obstacle to the consideration of amnesty for political prisoners which President Harding has insisted must await the formal end of the war. Now he must declare himself. Mollie Steimer and the young men associated with her in protesting against our intervention in Russia have recently been released on condition that they go voluntarily, or at least not fight deportation, to Russia; and it is rumored that the Administration will soon release all alien political prisoners on the same terms. Mollie Steimer and her comrades were liable to deportation as anarchists upon their release. They have nothing to lose and much to gain by agreeing to deportation now instead of after months or years of additional imprisonment. But this is not true of all alien prisoners. It is rumored that American political prisoners who cannot, of course, be deported, will be offered release on parole, which is to say under conditions that will prevent any expression of their opinions. They will be asked to sell freedom of the spirit for liberty of the body.

THE unfortunate conditions at Ellis Island and the stiff-necked administration of the new immigration law are matters that have become humiliating to contemplate. When Englishmen living in England are threatened with deportation as Egyptians because they happened to be born in Egypt; when Czechs living in Czecho-Slovakia are sent home because their parents lived in what is now Jugoslavia at the time of their birth; when Rumanians living in Bessarabia are sent home because the United States Government does not recognize any changes in the frontier of the old Russian Empire—we begin to feel that no protest can prevail against such absurd red tape. And not only do we thus dissemble our love for those who seek the cold hospitality of our shores; we also do our best to make those who stay hate the very thought of America. Ellis Island is a pig-sty run like a prison. Physical conditions there are unspeakable and the moral and social conditions are as bad. Immigrants are bullied, underfed, insulted, and degraded at every turn. Mark Glanville, an intelligent young Englishman, who was held there with his wife and baby, refused to appeal the order for his exclusion and sailed for England rather than stay longer on Ellis Island. As the result of his experiences he characterized the United States as a "barbarous land"—a reproof well justified.

IN New York City a teamsters' strike is threatened because the employers insist on a $5 a week cut in wages and a lengthening of the working-day from nine to ten hours. The last demand is interesting in connection with the suggestion of the Unemployment Conference that the working-day be split so that more men could be given work. The boss truckmen of New York do not seem to have considered the suggestion. But fortunately for the country there are employers more far-sighted than the truckmen and citizens more fertile in suggestion than Mr. Hoover's conferees. Deering, Milliken, and Company, who have been pioneers in industrial democracy, find their own plan of unemployment insurance most successful in this time of testing. In Wisconsin the so-called Huber plan is under consideration. It provides for an unemployment insurance fund under State regulation, supported by employers, whose premiums vary with the percentage of men they lay off. Out of this fund men discharged after six months' service through no fault of their own will receive for a period, ultimately to be thirteen weeks, $1.50 per day. The plan is intended not merely to aid the unemployed but to stimulate business men in wise planning which will obviate the alternating inflation and deflation of "rush" and "slack" seasons, and give the workers reasonably steady jobs.

VOTERS in New York State are to pass at the coming election on a proposed amendment to the constitution to give preference in civil-service appointments to former soldiers, sailors, and marines. The same demand has been or will be pressed in other States, and can all too easily be settled wrongly by a generous gesture on the part of a good-natured electorate. The public has big obligations toward ex-service men. It owes care and financial aid to those made sick or disabled in the war; it owes reeducation to those who must be fitted for new occupations; it owes employment to those out of work. But government offices should not be turned into hospitals and homes; we must not mix charity and administration. Popular government in America has already suffered too much from the theory that public office exists as a means of paying political debts or of accommodating needy friends.

ACQUITTAL of the Rev. Edwin R. Stephenson, a Methodist minister, of the murder of Father James E. Coyle, pastor of St. Paul's Catholic Church in Birmingham, will surprise no one who understands the play of forces behind that beastly crime. Writing in *The Nation* for August 31, Mr. Charles P. Sweeney made clear that anti-Catholic bigotry is a predominant state of mind in that section of the United States of which Birmingham is the metropolis. The murder of the priest in his own home is the logical

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product, in a community predisposed to lawlessness, of the reckless campaign of defamation in which the junior Senator from Georgia, Thomas E. Watson, is the central figure. He is not guiltless of the murder of Father Coyle, as he was not guiltless of the tragic lynching five years ago of Leo Frank. Both were victims in part of his incendiary vilification in that tinder-box of medieval superstitions and phobias designated on our maps as Georgia and Alabama.

WIZARD SIMMONS revealed himself in his testimony before the House Committee. The head of the most ludicrous yet most obnoxious organization of "the American boobery" is neither great grafter, great cynic, nor great fanatic. By the best Main Street standards he appears to be a good man—wherein is much instruction for the inquiring mind. Here is an ordinary American, patriotic according to the orthodox Georgia creed, evangelically religious in a narrow and bigoted sort of way, finding compensation for the barrenness of his inner and outer life in the cheap mystery and mummery of secret orders. To him came the idea of reforming the world by a new sort of Protestant American society which as a good Southerner he named after the old Ku Klux. He preached his idea; smarter men seeing its possibilities sold it, the old Methodist Wizard being more dupe than knave. The story is characteristically American, and for that reason more, rather than less, sobering for Americans to consider. It is a pity that in its laudable desire to enlighten the public on the menace of the Ku Klux the New York *World* departed from its effective method of exposure to daylight ridicule and pressed for a Congressional inquiry. It looked like persecution and gave the Wizard a chance.

A FINE statement of the right public attitude toward the Ku Klux Klan comes from the National Urban League. After congratulating the *World* the statement proceeds:

> The next step, then, will be to make it impossible for such an organization, whether promoted for the sordid personal ends of its leaders or through honest but ignorant and misguided fanaticism, to get such a hold upon the irresponsible elements in the democracy. At this stage prosecution will be considered persecution and denunciation will arouse resentment unless the leadership of the *World* and the other responsible members of the American press is directed to promoting a better understanding between the races and cooperation in solving the problems which inevitably arise where peoples of many colors, religions, and heritages are living together.

Negroes and whites alike need that sort of leadership, and we hope that the Urban League will not be handicapped in its growth and influence in its work of bringing both races together by difficulty in raising its modest budget. Its headquarters are at 127 East 23d Street, New York City.

IT is not only in America that the automobile fills the stage. In Paris there has just been concluded a motor-car sale which brought more cars together under one roof than had ever been assembled before, while not less than 200 exhibitors were unable to obtain space. Apparently this industry, in which France has in most respects led since the outset, is back on its feet again with its wits sharpened for economies in gasoline and oil consumption and the use of tires. Therein the effect of the war makes itself clearly felt, if we may trust the technical correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. For the first time the great makers exhibited small and light cars at a cost of from 8,000 to 10,000 francs. It is quite possible that the Ford competition has had something to do with this, but the interesting fact is that the French makers are turning out cars of much smaller horse-power than the Ford. Thus, Peugeot is building four-cylinder motors of only eight horse-power, and so is Voisin, while Panhard, De Dion, Delage, Darracq, and Delaunay-Belleville are constructing ten and eleven horse-power vehicles using less than six quarts of gasoline for every hundred miles, with a view to reaching the owners who drive themselves. This reaction from 60 to 100 horse-power cars is quite unexpected, but it would not be surprising if it should be imitated in this country with the improvement in our roads and a recognition of the fact that for use in cities it is not necessary that an engine should have a nominal 25 or 35 and an actual horse-power of 50 and 60. Finally, it is significant that the most famous French manufacturers are giving a great deal of time and money to the development of motor-cycle cars.

"ROLLING down to Rio" has taken on a new significance since the steamers American Legion and Southern Cross have reduced the running time from New York to Rio to only eleven days. Time was not so long ago when our diplomatic representatives in South America habitually went to their posts by way of Liverpool and Southampton, crossing the ocean twice rather than to embark on the occasional lines along the Atlantic coast. Now these two new Munson liners, together with former enemy ships, are giving an American service of the highest importance to American business and to our cultural relations with our sister republics. Since it takes about eleven days on the average liner to Europe today, why should not some of the present tourist travel to the Continent find its way to the magnificent harbors and fascinating cities of South America? We hope it will for the sake of American enterprise on the water as well as for the sake of better relations between North and South America. An indignant reader of the *Nautical Gazette* protests because Major General Wood sailed to Japan on a Japanese liner and General Pershing to France on a French liner. The future of our own merchant marine is veiled in uncertainty; but there will be no uncertainty about it if the highest American officials refuse to sail under their own flag when splendid Yankee vessels are available and if the public follows their example.

WILLIAM HENRY PICKERING, Professor of Astronomy,
Gives the papers news about lunarian agronomy.
On the moon—the public learns it from the daily papers—
Crops of fuzzy fungus cut the funniest of capers.
Two of them will ripen on a single lunar Monday
(What we call a fortnight the lunarians call one day);
Harvest follows planting in a passionate procession—
More than crop rotation, it is almost crop gyration.
Till we marvel dizzily and dimly wonder whether
Lunar men have even time to talk of lunar weather.
But we personally consider that the news is not so very
Novel, for we lead a life that's rather literary.
We remember Wells's romance, when his eager muse was crescent,
With its brilliant lunar seasons, ephemeral, florescent;
And according to the Bible, we have heard a scholar say,
What is only grass some morning, by the evening may be hay.

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Toward Understanding the Railroad Strike

IT is already certain that the railroad strike will not involve many workers outside the four brotherhoods—engineers, conductors, firemen, and trainmen—and it seems probable that it may be altogether averted. But that happy result will simply be a compromise, a truce, not a peace, between two groups of belligerents neither of which has quite enough confidence to put matters to the test of a bitterly contested strike, and one of which—labor—is weakened by internal dissension. The conventional newspaper opinion is that in the event of strike the railroads are bound to win. Railway executives are voluble in proclaiming that the failure of the English railroad strike foreshadowed what would happen in America. The strikers, we are told, can have no support in public opinion, labor itself is not united, the roads are recruiting new forces both from the many unemployed and from other volunteers.

But it is not certain that a strike would be hopeless. This is a country of magnificent distances and a motor transport service cannot be anything like as effective as it was in England. No matter how many yardmen, shop-craft workers, clerks, and porters are on hand, the roads will be absolutely tied up if the engineers and firemen are out. The exultant statements of the railroad executives often contain inconspicuous admission that so far no substitute engineers have been found. Conservative and relatively well-paid workers like the engineers seldom strike, but when they do they know their own minds and have both the determination and the resources to sustain a fight to the finish. Finally public opinion is by no means so definitely behind the roads as the reader of the average editorial might suppose. The American Legion has announced that it will keep hands off. There are a great many good Americans who have no love for unions who have less for the railroads. All these things the railway executives, and—what is more important—the investment bankers who are the real masters of the roads must know. The outlook would be more promising if both parties did not regard the Railroad Labor Board as light weight. Here is a body whose success in its important duties depends more on the personal capacity of its members than on legal power, yet from the beginning it has been loaded up with second-rate men. To make matters worse, President Harding recently refused reappointment of Henry T. Hunt, the ablest and fairest of the public representatives, and appointed instead a Tennessee politician. Four railroads have persistently and successfully flouted its decisions.

Even though the mutual fears of the contestants may avert the calamity of the strike it is anything but consoling to reflect that the national welfare depends upon so precarious a peace. In so saying we do not join the chorus of indiscriminate critics of the unions. The men are not fighting against the public but against the management, to obtain wages and working conditions which they think fit for free men. Railroad administration in our present economic order must satisfy, after some fashion, labor, the investors, and the shippers—which is to say the consuming public. It must not be forgotten that the investors are also dissatisfied, that there is a virtual strike of capital against new investments which goes wholly unrebuked, and that the shippers are resorting to every conceivable form of pressure to force down freight rates—all of which would seem to make a prima-facie case not against labor but against the roads. Their answer is to lay blame for their failure to satisfy investors and shippers on the cost of labor and the burdens of government regulation. The simple truth is that government regulation and, during the war, government operation, were necessitated by the crimes or blunders of the railways. It was not labor, nor the Government, but railway directors who looted the New Haven and the Rock Island to the sorrow of the widows in whose behalf they say they fight wage increases.

Meanwhile labor, especially the powerful brotherhoods, has taken a most conservative stand. The constitution of the Brotherhood of Engineers is so far from the class-struggle theory that it declares that, "the interests of employer and employee being coordinate," they will submit differences to arbitration. During the war railway labor worked faithfully at wages that the Lane Commission declared were below what other labor received for less responsible tasks. Various awards did indeed raise wages, the greater increases going to the less well-paid unions, which aroused jealousy in the minds of engineers and conductors. According to the Labor Board's figures the average yearly wage for all employees under the decision of July, 1920, was about $1,700. The cost of a decent living for a family of five, according to government estimates, was then about $2,225.

Railway wages have since been cut on the average 12 per cent. As a result of the cut the men gave permission to their officials to call a strike, but it is clear that the workers would have accepted that cut had it not been for deliberate attacks by the Pennsylvania and other roads on the unions, a concerted attempt to set aside working conditions, and finally for the demand by all the roads for further wage reductions. So conservative an authority on railroads as Mr. Edward Hungerford says that by these demands the life of the unions is imperiled. We are concerned that in the fight they act wisely and avoid the perils inherent in the situation. We should have more confidence but for two considerations. The first is the unfraternal spirit shown by the brotherhoods toward labor in general. The blindest leader ought to have seen that if the steel strike was defeated by the trust, every labor organization would sooner or later have to fight for its life; yet not American railroad men, but the garment workers, Jewish and Italian tailors, came to the help of the steel workers. Still more amazing was the conduct of the brotherhoods in declaring that they would not stand by the other railway unions after their own demands had been won. Naturally organizations with so little sense of the solidarity of labor have failed to urge the constructive principles upon which a real settlement might be based. They dropped the Plumb plan in apparent unconcern for anything but their own wages. Now as opponents of the autocracy of financiers who control American industry they are fighting the battles of all labor and in a real sense of the public. Would they saw the real issues and were more intelligent champions of their own cause! For whatever the result of this strike threat, the railroad problem is insoluble so long as the management is out solely for profit and labor chiefly for wages. Only when the Government takes over the roads, and when they are operated as a national unit under democratic management will we escape the chronic illness of our transportation system and its recurring crises.

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For a Better Race

FEW will have the temerity to assert in this year 1921 that all's well with the world; or that in the face of unprecedented suffering, poverty, disease, and social disintegration, enlightened leadership is anywhere conspicuous. At best the way for mankind is dark, the proposed remedies doubtful. Yet amid all this uncertainty one small group of idealists stoutly maintains its faith in a great remedy, a prescription for human happiness largely attainable by the individual and safe from the machinations of great forces of which he has been the plaything and victim. America has heard little of birth control, thanks to the Comstockery which in our statutes has identified vital physiological facts with the "indecent and obscene" and has effectively laid its taboo on our press, pulpit, and public health agencies. It is different abroad. But now a change is in sight here too. Within the month New York will witness the First American Birth Control Conference inaugurated by that courageous pioneer, Margaret Sanger; and Dr. Marie Stopes, an English authority, has come to give us her experience in the establishment of a birth-control clinic in London's slums, to the end that a similar institution may be created here.

The birth-control controversy in the United States is extraordinarily simple. It resolves itself into an argument not as to the merit or demerit of the principle of voluntary parenthood, but as to the *right* of every individual mother to decide the time and frequency of her child-bearing. And this issue which involves the most elemental personal liberty should be made clear once and for all. Those who oppose birth control on religious or other grounds have the unquestioned right to refuse to practice it and to preach against it—they have not the right to attempt to incorporate their beliefs and prejudices in the law of the land and to impose them on others who may be differently minded, any more than they have in matters of religion.

The spiritual arguments for proper birth control are potent. They involve the inalienable birthright of every child to be "wanted"; to be born physically and mentally fit; to come into a home that is morally and materially able to care for it. Nor can there be any nobler conception of parentage than that which elevates it above the mere physical function of the animal and by making it a calculated act endows with the utmost of love, forethought, and devotion the most sacred privilege of the human being.

The practical reasons for the general application of family limitation are overwhelming. Through it probably more poverty, disease, insanity, crime, in short more human wretchedness, could be banished from the earth than by any other course of action capable of immediate adoption by mankind. For at least it would leave vast numbers of the human race freer to enjoy the happiness which is or which should be their natural heritage. As Dr. Stopes says:

> This ideal differs from those widely distant Utopias which are generally presented in being a really practical and achievable ideal. We have already today sufficient physiologic knowledge to check (if one could only get everyone to know it) the birth of every diseased, unhealthy, unprepared-for child. Once stem the onrush of those who enter life in such quick succession that they snatch the bread and milk from each other's mouths and do nothing but defeat each other's chances of life, or if they live, live weakened, doomed, or diseased lives—once stem the onrush of those who are a total loss to the state, an anguish and drain to their mothers, and a misery to themselves, and then we shall find in each home the joyous creators of children born in love and loved before their birth.

Turning to practical considerations, it is an obvious fact that contraception is already in our midst—that it is well-nigh universally practiced by the well-to-do, available to most persons of education and intelligence, but denied to the great masses of the uneducated and unprivileged whose very ignorance in this respect perpetuates their misery and their enslavement. And their suffering and degradation is no respecter of class lines—the entire community pays in its almshouses, insane asylums, foundling homes, and jails, in economic strife, and in declining standards of living, and more terribly in the deterioration and pollution of our racial heritage.

Housing New York City

IN a world none too crowded with encouraging prospects, it is cheering to find the clouds breaking in a quarter of the sky which has for a long time been most threatening. To say that the housing problem is solved would be premature. To say that New York City has found a remedy which promises at least temporary relief in an emergency situation is no more than the truth. Moreover the New York experiment may lead to a much-needed reexamination of the whole subject of land taxes.

During the period of the war the diversion of money, labor, and materials from house construction to war purposes stopped building and created a universal shortage of homes. The Federal authorities, under pressure of necessity perhaps, ignored the fact that they were scrapping the machine which in obedience to the law of demand and supply had been furnishing homes for the people of the country. The rise in freight rates and the high cost of coal, both factors of great importance in building though not generally recognized as such, put on the brakes still tighter. Thus, though extravagant rentals were obtainable for newly constructed buildings, the supply fell far behind the demand and building languished. Further barriers were the control of building materials by powerful combinations and the continued high nominal wages of labor.

The housing famine naturally created great excitement in New York City and resulted in making the adoption of remedial measures a burning question in two legislatures. Most people who were concerned about the matter urged direct action by the State or the municipality. This proposal was confronted by the constitutional restrictions which prevent the investment of public money in the provision of homes for solvent citizens. The outlook was most discouraging when a special session of the New York legislature was called in September, 1920, to devise a solution for a problem fast becoming menacing. While the rent restriction laws prevented evictions, they admittedly operated to restrain the building of dwellings. They would cease to operate in 1922, and if an adequate building program could not be launched and completed in the meantime a situation of greater gravity would confront the public than that which caused the enactment of the laws originally. After considering various proposals which held little promise, if any, a bill was introduced at the special session of 1920 by the Lockwood Committee, providing for the exemption from taxation for ten years of dwellings commenced before April 1, 1922, and completed before April

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1, 1924. The bill was permissive and not mandatory, leaving to the various municipalities the determination whether they would apply the method or not. In adopting the measure, after much unintelligent opposition, the city of New York limited the exemption to $5,000 per house or apartment; and in no case was the exemption to exceed $1,000 per room. For the adoption of this measure the city is more indebted to Borough President Curran than to any other official.

Seldom has any law been more speedily justified by the results. Of course, its consequences are not yet obvious to the general public, because construction takes time; not until the new houses are actually on the market can the public expect to feel the effects of the great building movement now under way. Between February 26 and October 15 plans were filed for dwellings to house 38,500 families at an estimated cost of $189,000,000. This is an average of $6,000,000 a week. The building officials declare that 85 per cent of this construction is in process and that all of it is seriously meant to be carried out. If the same ratio is maintained until March next, arrangements will have been made for the housing of 260,000 people, which on the average of the past decade is equal to three years' growth of the city. While building has been resumed to some extent in other sections of the country, no such activity as New York's is elsewhere evident. A study of the figures for the whole city, compiled in the offices of the Borough President of Manhattan, shows that while last year the average cost for housing a family, exclusive of land, was estimated at $4,900, during the current year the figure has dropped to something over $4,700 on the average. This does not mean that we shall have pre-war rentals, because the depreciated dollar must be taken into consideration. But it is hoped that production will continue to a point where it will be no longer necessary for even the poorest people to occupy the twenty-five to thirty thousand apartments which were vacant before the war because they were below the standards which decent citizens of New York would tolerate, but which were reoccupied under pressure of necessity.

The success of the experiment cannot fail to challenge both the wisdom and the expediency of the present system of local taxation, which taxes land and buildings at the same rate. Unless the movement now under way to extend the period of operation of the Tax-Exemption Law is successful, it will expire by its own limitation on April 1, 1922. If the law is not extended, then immediately on its expiration, and for a long time thereafter, filing of plans for new buildings will cease. All new dwellings thereafter erected will labor under a great handicap, as compared with the buildings projected and erected under the Tax-Exemption Law. It can hardly be hoped that enough building will have been begun before April 1, 1922, to supply New York's needs. Therefore the city will be in the anomalous position of having a relatively small group of property owners enjoying a special privilege as compared both with its existing buildings and with buildings yet to be built.

It may be well to extend the tax-exemption law in New York; it certainly would be intelligent for other communities confronting an acute house famine to try such a measure. But it would be unwise to regard the remedy as final. Taxes withdrawn at one point must be gathered at another—and added to the rent-payers' cost of living. Ultimately, housing must be treated as a public service and approached through cooperative or government endeavor.

Sweetness or Light

JONATHAN SWIFT who invented the phrase "sweetness and light" and Matthew Arnold who made it what it has become are not themselves precisely a congruous pair; but then, neither are the qualities they bracketed. Or at least they occur together in the minds and tempers of none but the utterly elect. Most persons who have either of them have never more than one or at best have only one at a time. Consider, for instance, your perfect optimist: he is a mine, a quarry, a very bee-tree of sweetness, a honey-dripping fellow, a foaming pail of the milk of human kindness. But when now and then the light falls on him from some alien source he shrivels or scurries to a shady nook where the illumination is not so deadly. Or consider your perfect pessimist: he is a vial of light imprisoned, a storage battery charged with the sun, and unless the properest precautions are taken he explodes when sweetness touches him.

But then, however, consider those eclectic citizens who go in for both at once. They usually undertake to be sweet in a light way or to be light in a sweet way. When they are lightly sweet they flit through the sunshine with the prettiest iridescence, stopping at all the prosperous flowers but stopping no longer than a moment and never really exhausting the deepest stores of sugar at the heart of the blossom. When they are sweetly light they sport admirably in the sun in the morning hours while its beams are still young and generous and again toward the evening after mellowness has set in; but they do not often care to venture into the noon at its full splendor. Sweetness, it appears to most of them, is a question of the coat rather than of the constitution; light, it appears to most of them, comes from the air itself rather than from the fire which uses the air merely as its medium. If they had studied the history of sweetness they would realize that it is the fruit of powerful processes working with matter not altogether sweet itself and arriving at the final essence only with patience and strife and victory. If they had observed the methods and effects of light they would understand that though it can heal it can also kill and that though it may throw a radiance around plain things it can quite as truly strip off glamor and halo and luxurious subterfuge.

It is a lamentable arithmetic which has led millions to put sweetness and light together and to make out of the combination something less than either might be by itself. Each has been played off against the other as an excuse. If you follow light too far, says sweetness, you will grow fierce and lose me. If you follow sweetness too far, says light, you will grow soft and forget what I have taught you. Here is the danger. Left to themselves, sweetness and light quarrel a hundred times for once they kiss. Even Socrates and Shakespeare must have had many hours when the war was hot within them. Was Swift, for all his light, ever really sweet? Was Arnold, for all his sweetness, not now and then negligent of the light while he mooned it with his Senancours and Amiels and missed the point of the diamond which Heine actually was?

For our part, while urging no one to refrain from being a Socrates or a Shakespeare if he can, we hint that light was first in the universe and that sweetness, invented since, is its creation. If we cannot have them both, we choose light.

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Wall Street's Control of Railroad Labor Policy

By FRANK P. WALSH

SOME railway executives did not want a railroad strike. Others did. But their personal preferences for their own railroads did not matter. The labor policy that forced the strike threat was imposed upon all the railroads by Wall Street, and in particular by the House of Morgan acting through its agent, Thomas De Witt Cuyler, president of the Association of Railway Executives, and a director, *inter alia*, of the Bankers Trust Company, the Guaranty Trust Company, the United States Mortgage and Trust Company, and the Equitable Life Assurance Society of New York City. The Bankers Trust and the Guaranty Trust are Morgan banks. It is of particular interest that Thomas De Witt Cuyler holds the greatest number of bank directorships of any man in the United States. He sits on the board of directors of a dozen New York institutions and he is also a director of the Pennsylvania Company for the Insurance of Lives and Granting Annuities and of the Girard Trust Company of Philadelphia.

Mr. Cuyler made his relations clear in his testimony before the Railway Labor Board last March. He said he was a lawyer by profession, director of the banks mentioned, and not a practical railroad man; and that he knew nothing whatever about the practical operation of railroads. Cuyler is nevertheless a director of the Pennsylvania Railroad and of half a dozen other lines. He is the chairman of what is called the Road Committee of the Pennsylvania. This Road Committee has the supreme power to define the labor policies of that road. There are five members of this committee; the president and first vice-president are ex-officio members. The first vice-president in charge of operations of the Pennsylvania is W. W. Atterbury, who happens also to be a director of the Philadelphia Trust Company and of the Franklin National Bank of Philadelphia. This Road Committee, Cuyler said, is selected from the board of directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad; it is given power by that board to create the road's labor policies, with the limitation that it must report its action to the whole board of directors. It has been in existence for many years, Cuyler having been on it for the last five or six. He could recall no instance where the directors rejected any policy adopted by the Road Committee.

Of his four fellow members on the Road Committee, two were lawyers like himself who had no railroad experience and, he said, knew less about the rules and national agreements governing the working conditions upon railroads than he did. The other two members of the Road Committee were "retired business men," neither one of whom had any practical railroad experience nor the slightest knowledge of the national agreements, rules, and working conditions then under consideration. Yet these are the gentlemen who determine the labor policies of the Pennsylvania.

Mr. Cuyler also testified that he was chairman of the Railway Executives' Association, which consists of the president, or vice-president in charge of operations, of each of 101 railroads in the United States. It is the final determining body as to the labor policies upon all these railroads. Each member road has one vote on all questions that come before the Executives' Association. The railroad systems, however—for example, the New York Central and the Pennsylvania railroads—have the right to cast one vote for each of their subsidiaries, so that on all questions coming before the Association the Pennsylvania has eight votes and the New York Central ten. The eight votes of the Pennsylvania Railroad are cast by W. W. Atterbury, the subordinate of T. De Witt Cuyler on the all-important Road Committee of that railroad, and the ten votes of the New York Central are cast by the president of that road, A. H. Smith. Now this Executives' Association, representing these 101 roads, has given further authority to its chairman, T. De Witt Cuyler, to appoint a smaller standing committee of twenty-seven members, of which Cuyler is again chairman. And in 1919 the standing committee gave T. De Witt Cuyler the authority to appoint from its own membership a Labor Committee. Mr. Cuyler appointed Carl R. Gray, now president of the Union Pacific System, as the chairman of that committee, with three others. Additions were made to the committee from time to time, so that when the question of the national agreements and working rules became the subject of controversy before the United States Railroad Labor Board the Labor Committee numbered eleven. Mr. Cuyler testified that this Labor Committee was clothed with full authority to adopt labor policies for all of the railroads of the United States, subject to ratification by the Railway Executives' Association.

When government operation of the railroads ended the railroad employees applied to the Executives' Association for a conference looking toward an agreement for the continuance of the national agreements and working rules and for the creation of national boards of adjustment, as provided for in the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act. The Labor Committee of the Railway Executives' Association met at Chicago to take action upon this request, and adopted a resolution providing for a meeting with the representatives of the workers and for the creation, if possible, of national boards of adjustment which would settle all controversies that might arise over the existing national agreements and working rules, or any other agreements in force or thereafter adopted.

W. W. Atterbury, vice-president in charge of operations of the Pennsylvania Railroad and a subordinate of Mr. Cuyler, was a member of the Labor Committee, and he alone of the eleven members voted against the resolution. Had the resolution been adopted, the controversies which have since threatened the operation of every railroad in the United States would have been avoided. But when the majority and minority resolutions were submitted to the full meeting of the Railway Executives' Association on the following day, the Atterbury minority report was adopted by a vote of 60 to 41. Mr. Cuyler had authority to appoint the Labor Committee as well as its chairman. When the majority resolution was voted down by the Association, Carl Gray suggested to Mr. Cuyler that he, Gray, should retire as chairman of the Labor Committee; thereupon without leaving the chair Cuyler appointed Atterbury to succeed Gray as chairman of the Labor Committee. At the next meeting of the Labor Committee a resolution was again introduced with slightly different verbiage, but carrying the same idea of conferring with the heads of the workers' organizations

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for the purpose of creating adjustment boards. This was done with Mr. Atterbury in the chair. The vote upon this resolution was seven to three in favor of its adoption, Atterbury again submitting the minority report, opposing the continuation of the national agreements and the creation of adjustment boards. But despite the vote of the Labor Committee against the Atterbury-Cuyler policy of not conferring with labor, the Executives' Association never took action upon the resolution. Again, two months later, the majority resolution was introduced by Mr. Gray in the Labor Committee, and was again adopted by a vote of six to three. But again no action was taken.

There being no agreement between the management and the representatives of the railroad workers, the whole question of the continuation of the national agreements and of the creation of adjustment boards was referred to the United States Railroad Labor Board, created by the Transportation Act. Now in the Railway Executives' Association there was another committee known as the Management Committee, of which E. T. Whiter was chairman. This committee consists of five members, some of them practical railroad men and some of them industrial experts and statisticians. The Railroad Executives' Association ordered this Management Committee to appear before the Railroad Labor Board to demand the abrogation of all existing national agreements and working rules, and, in the event of failure to secure the abrogation, to attack and attempt to have abrogated or modified every individual rule in the national agreements and code of working rules. But the Labor Board refused to abrogate the agreements and rules as a whole, and proceeded to hear the representatives of the railroads on the question of the abrogation or modification of the individual rules. At the close of the railroad companies' case Mr. Atterbury suddenly appeared and again demanded that the hearings go no further, but that the Board abrogate the national agreements and every national working rule in existence, on the ground that they were costing the railroad companies $300,000,000 per year, and that unless they were abrogated at once every railroad in the United States would become bankrupt. The Board denied his request, and made an immediate ruling in a case then pending before it, to the effect that under the Transportation Act the United States Railroad Labor Board could not take into consideration the financial condition of a railroad. Prior to this time, of course, the railroads had secured immense increases in freight and passenger rates, for the express purpose of meeting the wages as they existed, and which were being paid under the national agreements and working rules then and now in existence.

After the appearance of Mr. Atterbury before the Railroad Labor Board, the Labor Committee of the Executives' Association, which still adhered to its more enlightened policy, was dissolved. The railroad record shows that it was dissolved by request of the members. But Mr. Gray, its former chairman and still a member at the time of its dissolution, testified that he had no knowledge of the dissolution of the committee until he read it in the newspapers!

Mr. Cuyler denied repeatedly upon the witness stand that he had ever issued any orders or made any request upon the individual roads of the country to adopt any particular labor policy, or to take any action with respect to any labor matter, but that each road acted in its individual capacity and according to the judgment and discretion of its own executives. Now the dissolution of the Labor Committee, logically, would have resulted in leaving the national agreements and working rules still in existence, without any defendant before the Railroad Labor Board, because Mr. Whiter's Committee derived all of its authority, as was shown by the evidence, from that Labor Committee. Yet after the dissolution of the Labor Committee telegrams were received from practically all of the 101 individual railroads, giving authority to the Whiter Committee to represent them before the Railroad Labor Board and to resist the continuation of the national agreements and working rules. All the telegrams received by the Railroad Labor Board were couched in identical language. It happened, however, that one of the roads which sent a telegram of authorization to the Board for the Whiter Committee did so inadvertently, its executives having already made terms with the workers and agreed upon their own working rules, and they therefore did not wish to be a party to the dispute before the Railroad Labor Board. In making this explanation, they introduced into the evidence a telegram, dated February 21, 1921, signed by T. De Witt Cuyler, stating "You are requested to send the following telegram to the United States Railroad Labor Board" and then repeating verbatim the telegram which the Labor Board had received from practically all of the 101 roads—showing that Mr. Cuyler was *mistaken* when he said that he did not make requests of the railroads as to their labor policies, and showing that he not only had made requests, but had given the railroads precise words to send to the United States Railroad Labor Board, and that no railroad had failed to respond.

Further, as showing the complete control of the banking group through Mr. Cuyler, a letter was produced, addressed to Mr. Atterbury by Mr. Cuyler, of date August 10, 1920, from Bar Harbor, Maine, where Mr. Cuyler was spending his vacation, suggesting that the time was possibly ripe for attempting some compromise with the workers' organizations, and outlining definitely the methods of opposition to the national boards of adjustment and national agreements to be adopted before the Railroad Labor Board. This letter went so far as to suggest arguments that might be made before the Board on behalf of the railroads.

The admissions made by Mr. Cuyler settle beyond all possibility of dispute the fact that the railroads of the country are, as far as their labor policies are concerned, absolutely and in every detail controlled by the banking group of Wall Street through the voice and hand of Mr. Cuyler. What that means in the present situation of threatened railroad strike is clear. The strike threat was precipitated by the unexpected action of the railway executives, who had done nothing to relieve the burdens of farmers and business men by reducing freight rates, in suddenly demanding a further 10 per cent cut in railroad wages in addition to the 12 per cent cut which took effect July 1. There has been no surrender of control of labor policy by Mr. Cuyler since he testified last March. If the strike comes responsibility for it will belong to Mr. Cuyler, agent of the House of Morgan. Behind the open-shop movement that is agitating industry from one end of this country to the other is the same direction by banking forces. J. P. Morgan's dictation of wage policy in the coal and steel industries was revealed before the Industrial Relations Commission nearly a decade ago in his cabled instructions to E. H. Gary. Whether the assault is on the railwaymen or on the steel workers, the voice that speaks with authority comes from the House of Morgan.

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Blackmail à la Boston

By ARTHUR WARNER

"SEE COAKLEY." For a good many years this advice was whispered into the ears of persons of means who found themselves in danger of the law in Boston. They were told that this Coakley had remarkable influence with the two district attorneys of the metropolitan area and was not averse to using it—for a consideration. They were made to understand that if guilty—but willing to pay by the nose—they might pass as innocent; that if innocent—and willing to pay by the nose—they would not be found guilty; that, guilty or innocent, they would be made to sweat blood if they resisted or haggled over the price of justice.

"See Coakley."

Gradually it became known that this Coakley was not merely a lawyer and an individual but part of a system: a system that could go far in preventing indictments by grand juries or stopping the trial of indictments already found; a system that used threats of criminal prosecution to extract money or compel the settlement of civil suits; a system that had spun a web of extortion and blackmail about Boston calculated to ensnare any wealthy but indiscreet individual who bungled into the neighborhood. It was a pay-as-you-enter system that issued neither receipts nor transfers. Wherever the system reached, justice became a commodity to be bought and sold. But always at war prices; there were no bargain counters or stock-taking sales.

"See Coakley."

Young lawyers began to grow up in Boston with a new code of practice: that of "fixing" rather than trying cases. The taint of the system was in danger of extending to the entire administration of justice. Then, last summer, the Attorney General of Massachusetts, J. Weston Allen, took the lid off by asking the Supreme Judicial Court of the State to remove Nathan A. Tufts as District Attorney of Middlesex County, which comprises Cambridge and other important environs of Boston. Tufts was accused of misfeasance, malfeasance, and nonfeasance in office. This sounds comprehensive, but the court did not find it too much so and on October 1 issued an order removing Tufts. Two days before this the Boston Bar Association threw its hat into the ring by demanding the removal of Joseph C. Pelletier, District Attorney for Suffolk County (which comprises most of Boston proper), and the disbarment of Daniel H. Coakley and two other lawyers. The disbarment of a fourth lawyer has since been asked. None of the hearings except that of Tufts has yet taken place, but the latter was sufficient to reveal the brazen and sordid methods of perverting justice that have been in use. Meanwhile Pelletier has injected steam into an already boiling cauldron by announcing his candidacy for Mayor in the election on December 13. This has led the Good Government Association to declare:

> He is trying to transfer the forum from the Supreme Judicial Court, which can summon witnesses and test their stories, to the street corner, where in an excited election he can make demagogic appeals to the people without any possibility of testing their truth. If he wins, he can then resign from the office of District Attorney, and so escape any scrutiny of his official acts by the Supreme Judicial Court.

Altogether the situation is providing a thriller the like of which has not been unreeled for Boston's benefit since the police strike of 1919.

Of the three principal men charged with participation in Boston's pay-as-you-enter system of judicial extortion—Tufts, Pelletier, and Coakley—the first has had his day in court, and is ousted. There are a good many who think he was rather a victim of the hold-up trust than a leader or a beneficiary of it; but even the charitable admit, as one of them put it, that he was "a little more than careless." Tufts is a former football player and coach. He was refereeing a game between Princeton and Swarthmore the day that he was removed from office, receiving the news between halves. Without comment, he blew the whistle to resume the game, thus rivaling the stoical Charlotte who on seeing Werther

> Borne before her on a shutter,
> Like a well-conducted person
> Went on cutting bread and butter.

The evidence against Pelletier is not yet disclosed, but it will doubtless include an airing of what happened in connection with the Emerson Motors Company. When officers of the company were on trial in New York in 1916 it was stated that $20,500 had been sent to Boston "to bribe the District Attorney of Suffolk County, Massachusetts." There was no testimony that such bribery actually took place, but a lawyer of the company stated that Coakley had told him that Pelletier had begun an investigation of the Boston branch of the business. Whereupon the lawyer gave Coakley $500 as a retainer fee, with the understanding that $20,000 more was to be paid when the investigation was stopped. The lawyer received assurances on the following day that there would be no prosecution. There never was.

The accusations of the Bar Association make Coakley the central figure of the extortion system and charge him with having capitalized his influence with the District Attorneys of Suffolk and Middlesex counties, to his personal enrichment and the debauchery of his professional position. These charges have not yet come to trial, but Coakley appeared as the brains and the chief financial beneficiary of several of the transactions which caused the removal of Tufts. The most notorious of these is the Mishawum Manor case, otherwise described by Boston newspapers as the "$100,000 shakedown." Without dwelling unduly on the unsavory details of this episode in Boston justice, it may be recalled that after a dinner to "Fatty" Arbuckle at the Copley-Plaza Hotel in 1917 a party of New York motion-picture men, including Hiram Abrams and Adolph Zukor, went to a resort in Woburn for a sequel of wine, women, and song. At least there is no doubt about the first two; the evidence of song is less substantial. The party terminated about 8 or 9 o'clock the next morning when somebody waked Abrams from sleep and presented a bill of $1,050 for the entertainment. That was a flyspeck by comparison with bills that were to come. Shortly after, when Abrams was in Maine, ex-Mayor James M. Curley of Boston advised him by telephone to return to the city, saying that a serious matter was likely to arise. At Curley's suggestion Abrams retained Coakley. The lawyer for the prosecution in the Tufts trial took pains to state that he did not implicate Curley in the conspiracy to "shake down" the motion-picture men; but the relations between Curley and Coakley have long been close. When Curley, as Mayor, was under investigation by the Finance Commission,

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he refused to be defended by the city's counsel, calling upon Coakley instead. Likewise Curley honored Coakley—and astounded Boston—by appointing him a trustee of the Public Library. This is the same Curley who prior to his election as Mayor served a term in jail for impersonating, for a consideration, a friend in a civil-service examination. This episode did not injure Curley in his mayoralty campaign. On the contrary, Boston newspapers were at pains not to recall the incident on the ground that to do so might arouse a sympathy that would insure his election! Boston, like Bret Harte's Heathen Chinee, is peculiar.

To return to Abrams, that poor rich man soon learned that, as a result of the party at Mishawum Manor where he had played the host, complaints had been made to District Attorney Tufts and claims for damages were pending on behalf of several women. Coakley took Abrams and some of the others concerned to see Tufts, so that, as Coakley described it, Tufts might see that they were "decent respectable business men of high standing." According to the usual formula, Tufts refused—in the presence of his visitors—to be conciliatory, saying that he had had complaints from three lawyers and the chief of police. But subsequently the motion-picture men raised a fund of $100,000, "to avoid publicity and prosecution," as one of their lawyers stated at the Tufts trial. That hearing disarranged the hope of avoiding publicity, but there has never been any prosecution. Of the $100,000 fund, $15,000 was divided as fees among the various lawyers concerned excepting Coakley. The latter received $85,000, of which he pocketed $31,000 as his fee. The rest went for expenses and the settlement of claims made on behalf of women at the Woburn party. The largest of these claims was against Jesse L. Lasky. All the claims were palpably absurd. At the Tufts hearing a police officer testified that he had been unable to find two of the persons on whose behalf claims had been made. One of the women who signed a release in connection with the settlement affixed her signature without reading the paper and said she received nothing in return. Coakley himself admitted that the claims were fraudulent in the following colloquy between him and the prosecuting attorney at the Tufts trial:

Q. And you say Mr. Sawyer's claim was for a man named Crane. Did you find out who Crane was or where he was? A. I did not.

Q. What investigations did you make to determine whether his was a legitimate claim? A. None whatever.

Q. What investigations to know that you had paid money properly? A. My job was to see that no suits were brought, and I worked for that end, but when I paid I believed they were all bad claims, all phoney and dishonest.

Q. So you paid $14,000 to a man whose claim you believed fraudulent and fictitious, did you? A. I did.

It was a surprise that Tufts should have been picked first for investigation, since he had been less a storm-center than either Coakley or Pelletier. The reason may lie in a point that is fundamental to the whole issue. Generally speaking, to be successful in politics in Boston one must be three things: an Irishman, a Roman Catholic, and a Democrat. Both Coakley and Pelletier have all these qualifications. On the other hand, neither of them is a Bostonian, although both were born and have always lived in Boston. It is hard to define a Bostonian. He was once explained to me to be a person whose forebears were either privateersmen of Newburyport or smugglers of Marblehead. Anyhow Coakley and Pelletier are not Bostonians, while those foremost in moving against them are. The first public accuser of Pelletier was Godfrey Lowell Cabot, treasurer of the Watch and Ward Society. When one recalls the ancient but honorable saying that the Cabots speak only with Lowells and the Lowells speak only with God, he will know where to place a man whose name includes all of that triumvirate. Cabot was not successful in getting the Supreme Judicial Court to proceed against Pelletier, but he was instrumental in getting the Bar Association to begin an inquiry three years ago which has now come to fruition. Incidentally Cabot's Puritan zeal led him secretly to instal a dictaphone in Pelletier's office and to employ a man who hired himself to Coakley and then stole some of his papers for the use of Cabot. Even the blue bloods had to chuckle at Cabot's subsequent indictment, while non-Bostonian residents of Boston emitted peals of laughter. The joke got even better when it was noised about that Coakley had begun it all by hiring the man to hire himself to Cabot to be sent to Coakley to be hired.

Is it true, then, that the drive against Coakley and Pelletier is only a fight of the blue bloods against the new bloods; of the self-righteous against the self-made; of one group of lawyers against another? The best-informed and most impartial answer in the negative. They regard the attempted clean-up as something broader and better, but it unhappily has certain superficial features that make the other imputation possible. Perhaps that explains why the Attorney General moved first against Tufts, who was elected by a constituency different from that of metropolitan Boston. Tufts is not an Irishman, a Roman Catholic, or a Democrat. He is a Republican, a Protestant, and a Mayflower descendant. Hence, the strategy of an Attorney General, who is himself a Republican and wishes to avoid the charge of religious and racial bigotry, in proceeding first against Tufts.

No one knows better than Coakley himself that he is not a Bostonian. He likes to remind people that in early life he was a teamster, a bartender, and a street-car conductor on a line that is now part of the elevated system. He left the street-car platform after a strike, and still has his conductor's license, bearing the indorsement: "Discharged for neglect of duty. William A. Bancroft, Supt." There is something engaging in the story that he had this indorsement framed and then hung it over his desk after he had become the chief and most successful lawyer in the city in handling damage suits against the Boston Elevated. Coakley is quick, smooth, and adroit; his skill as a cross-examiner in criminal cases is proverbial. A. G. Gardiner has said of Lloyd George that he owes his success to the fact that he knows the price of every man whose assistance he requires. The same ability, to an uncanny degree, is credited to Coakley. Obviously he has been denied the kind of practice and emoluments that flow naturally to lawyers of Boston who are Bostonians. He has created his own. A scientist described Coakley to me as "a remarkable case of biological adaptation to environment." Some even proclaim him as a kind of Robin Hood, taking money only from those who can afford to part with it.

The moral? It is what you will. This is not a morality play, but a collection of facts bearing on the practice of democracy in the United States; showing a new pathology; indicating that justice in Boston has taken a long lane of many turnings since the days of Story, Webster, and Sumner.

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Germany's Pink Surge

By S. MILES BOUTON

Berlin, September 13

MOST amazing, because of the whole attitude of the land whence they come, are the American press comments on Germany. In a country which sends even moderate Socialists to prison, throws duly elected Socialists out of legislatures, arrests without warrant, beats, robs, and deports persons suspected of being Communists—in such a country the press rejoices over the acts of a Government which have set the whole Socialist press, from right to left, into wild spasms of joy; over a Chancellor who says in a hysterical speech: "If the time comes when the country is divided into camps, bourgeoisie and proletariat, I desire to leave no doubt in anybody's mind that I shall be with the proletariat." It is filled with gladness to hear that celebrations of old national holidays are forbidden and that Socialists and Communists can demonstrate when and where they please and blackjack political opponents with complete immunity. As a monarchy Germany was somewhat offensive to American republican eyes even before the war, and this feeling was heightened during the conflict. German reactionary spirit was emphasized and the revolution was hailed as the end of "reaction." Ever since, the burden of all songs about conditions here has been directed against "reaction" and "reactionaries." This was the specter which the makers of the revolution painted on every wall to frighten and solidify their followers.

Aided by this psychosis, the present three-party Coalition Government of Germany, under the camouflage of "the contest against reaction," has embarked on a course which, if it be not checked, will either result in handing the country over to the three Socialist parties, or else in civil war. Not that Wirth himself, Rathenau, and the other bourgeois members of the Cabinet are not firmly convinced of the holiness of their mission and the purity of their intentions. For them the cry of "reaction" still means all that it meant to the inspirers of the bloody uprisings in Berlin in January and March, 1919, and in Munich in March of that same year. But purity of intentions is not enough. Cool heads, trained minds, and wise statesmanship are more needed in Germany today than ever. The Wirth Government has scarcely exhibited these requisites. Far worse, however, is the fact that it is frightened, scared stiff, by the bogy so carefully erected for it since the revolution. And when weak men are sufficiently frightened, they run amuck. That is what is happening now.

The inception of the wave of events that brought about the present governmental panic cannot be definitely placed as to time. One must go back to the winter of 1919 to see its precursor, and that wave never fully spent its strength. In the last half year there have been many signs, none important in itself, but all disquieting to the "class-conscious proletariat" as indicating a gradual return of pride of race, patriotism, nationalism, and, in general, the "orderly, disciplined government" as Germans generally understood it. Particularly disquieting to the Socialists of all shades were the accumulating indications that they were steadily losing ground. The German Democratic Party, in Prussia Socialist in all but name, was even more disquieted by its virtual extinction as a voting factor in the Prussian Diet elections of last February, when it polled but 6 per cent of the popular vote and lost 39 of its 65 delegates.

The unmistakable rise of the tide of anti-Semitism also disquieted these parties. Many of the leaders of the Socialists are Jews; the entire press of the German Democratic Party in Prussia is owned and edited by Jews. The left wing of the Clericals, led by Wirth and Erzberger, is virtually Christian Socialist—so much so that, for the first time in the party's history, some of its prominent members are now leaving it demonstratively—and this wing, too, is sympathetic with any movement directed against anti-Semitism. These three parties, it must be remembered, constitute the present national Government, which is a minority government, controlling only 42 per cent of the votes in the Reichstag and hence all the more easily frightened.

The press and parties of the Right, even more destitute of political sagacity than those of the Left—and that is saying a good deal—exulted wildly and too openly over the prospect of the return of nationalism. Their stupidity is all but incredible. Time was working with them. More and more the disgusted intelligence of the country was coming over to them. In large part they controlled the bureaucracy and the courts. But instead of keeping the even tenor of their way and letting time work for them, they embarked on an idiotic campaign of abuse of their opponents and of *vaterländische Kundgebungen*—nationalistic celebrations at which monarchic addresses were made by Ludendorff, Count Waldersee, Marshal von der Goltz, and others of that ilk.

The Socialists, encouraged by their press and by the *Berliner Tageblatt, Vossische Zeitung, Frankfurter Zeitung* and other German-Democratic papers, and by the *Germania* Clerical left wing, reacted with American Legion tactics, but with a reverse twist. They invaded patriotic meetings, burned the old national black-white-red flags, smashed furniture, and belabored the auditors with beer-glasses, clubs, and blackjacks, especially in Berlin. (In Bavaria, to be sure, things went rather the other way.) The Socialists coined the new slogan: *Arbeiterfäuste,* workingmen's fists, which is now doing daily duty in the whole Left press. The bourgeoisie, exhibiting the same timidity that made the revolution possible, howled and fled.

Then came the murder of Mathias Erzberger. Great ambition, coupled with much personal vanity and marked moral courage, and the ability to work hard, had made Erzberger a marked man before the war. During the war he became the Government's handy man, starting as an annexationist, becoming then an anti-annexationist, and ending as a pacifist Christian Socialist. Along with his versatility he had a rare willingness to accept responsibility. He signed the armistice when nobody else would undertake it, and did the same thing when the peace treaty was finished. It was inevitable that he should bring upon himself the hatred of all Germans of the old school. For two years he was the best-abused man in Germany. The parties of the Left are justified in asserting that it was this campaign of abuse that led to his murder. So far, however, there is no reason to believe that the crime was the result of a definite pan-German plot; it was more probably merely the workings of the press cam-

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paign on some unbalanced fanatic. The Socialists loved Erzberger for the enemies he had made; the right wing of the Clericals loved him as a matter of duty because he was a member of their party; Wirth's wing loved him the more because it is virtually Socialist itself; and the German Democrats, as already explained, are in effect a bourgeois appendage of the Socialists.

The Government, supported by a minority of German voters, was badly frightened. The murder came close home also for purely personal reasons. Wirth had long been regarded merely as place-holder for Erzberger, there is reason to believe that his tax program is mainly the work of the murdered man, and there is no doubt at all that Erzberger would have returned to the political arena in the autumn and played a leading part in governmental affairs. President Ebert is a Socialist, and so is Gradnauer, holder of the important portfolio of Minister of the Interior.

Forty-three years ago Imperial Germany passed a series of laws intended to suppress all Socialist papers. After a twelve-year trial the attempt was abandoned. One of the main indictments by the press of the Left against the old monarchy was based upon precisely this attempt to suppress opinion. Yet now the republican Government resorts to the same measures, and even more drastically. A special decree was issued, authorizing the suspension of offending newspapers, and nine Conservative organs were suspended on the same day. How intimate the relations are between Government and the press of the Left, how outspokenly the Government is a party and class government, is shown by the fact that the editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung* in Berlin first knew of the suspension of his paper when he read the news in newspapers of the Left. When he asked to be told upon what article the order was based he was informed by the Government's press chief: "It is not a matter of any particular article, but because of your general tendency." In other words, the decree is being applied *ex post facto*.

The *Lokal-Anzeiger* of Berlin and a Conservative paper of Halle were forbidden to appear because they had reprinted, though with disapproving headlines, an article from the *Miesbacher Anzeiger* of Bavaria. Several further prohibitions—not always obeyed—have been issued against papers of the Right, and two Communist papers have been suspended, but not a single Socialist or Independent Socialist sheet, despite the fact that these have even intensified their campaign of abuse. *Vorwärts* prints with immunity an advertisement calling upon the faithful to break up a nationalist field-sports day planned for the Stadium by bourgeois Turnvereine. Only the presence of police prevented the meeting from being dispersed violently. The Government forbade the usual patriotic celebrations on Sedan Day, which have been held with gusto ever since the victory of 1870, and *Vorwärts* calmly comments that "this prohibition saves our comrades some work."

Immediately following the murder of Erzberger, Admiral Scheer, commander of the German fleet at the battle of Skagerrak, published an appeal to all good Germans to refrain from violent talk and acts, and to obey the Constitution and laws until such time as these could be altered by legal methods. The press of the Left published the appeal approvingly. Two days later the Minister of the Interior forbade a speech by Scheer about the naval battle—a speech which has been given many times—"in the interests of public order and safety." It was learned the next day that a delegation of workingmen had told the minister that they would break up the meeting by force if an attempt were made to hold it. Men who have been forbidden to make addresses on non-political subjects include Admiral Brüninghaus, General von Lettow-Vorbeck, and General von Wrisberg. The meeting at which Brüninghaus was to have spoken was permitted; the prohibition was purely personal. Von Lettow-Vorbeck has been giving his illustrated address on the campaign in Africa for months, without the slightest interference or incident. But not all political addresses are forbidden. Dr. Fleissner, Independent Socialist Minister of Education of Saxony, made one which pleased the press of the Left greatly. He said, among other things: "Our great political ends must be attained in all circumstances, even if by the use of force. We must reckon on using force. Make yourselves ready." Indeed, since the defeat of the Kapp uprising by the economic power of labor, the Socialists have talked steadily of their extra-governmental power.

Everywhere the Government bows to the *Arbeiterfäuste*. Socialists and Communists parade, demonstrate, and hold meetings and make speeches where and when they will. Three thousand Communists forced their way into the Police Presidency of Berlin on September 4 and demanded the immediate release of one of their number who had been arrested charged with violating a police ordinance. He was released. When Lübeck dressed itself gaily in flags and bunting for the great *Nordische Woche*, which brought together Germans from all northern Germany, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, and Finns, the wielders of the *Arbeiterfäuste* in the city demanded that all black-white-red flags be hauled down and bunting removed, and wherever the inhabitants did not comply, mobs forced their way into the houses, pulled down the flags, and destroyed them.

Every day brings reports of meetings broken up by mobs, of uniformed soldiers of the Reichswehr attacked in the streets by "guardians of the republic," of threats against all who refuse to regard the Weimar Constitution as a holy thing. The comb of all Marxists and Leninists is swelling mightily. What will come of it all cannot be predicted at this time.

Two Chinese Poems

Translated by WITTER BYNNER and KIANG KANG-HU

In Her Quiet Window

Too young to have known what sorrow means,
Decked for spring, she learns in her window,
The tint of the street-willows touching her heart,
That just for a title she sent him to war.

Wang Ch'ang-Ling.

A Song of Liang-Chou

We sing, we drain our cups of jade,
We strum on horseback our guitars.
Do you laugh at our tipsy sleep in the sand?
How many soldiers ever come home!

Wang Wan.

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When Will Work Begin Again?

By SCOTT NEARING

THE millions out of work, and the tens of millions who make up their anxious families, are asking when work will begin again. Now that Mr. Harding's conferees have come and gone without any noticeable addition to the number of available jobs, it seems quite pertinent to ask how many more months of hard times will succeed the fifteen that have elapsed since July, 1920, when the depression began to make itself felt. Viewed from the standpoint of economics there can be only one answer on the duration of the hard times: work will remain slack until purchasing power is restored. Under the present economic system nothing will be produced until there is an active demand for it. It is therefore demand—purchasing power plus wants—that makes the wheels of industry turn.

When will purchasing power be restored? The purchasing power for goods produced in the United States is divided between the export trade, which takes about one-tenth of the goods produced, and the domestic trade, which takes the remainder. The domestic trade, in its turn, is roughly divided between the seven millions of farmers and the thirty-five millions of workers in other industries. The export trade depends upon the foreign demand and the exchange rate. The domestic sale of goods depends, for the farmer, on the relation between the price of the wheat and cotton which he has raised and the price of the machinery and fertilizer which he must buy; and for the wage-earner the domestic sale of goods depends upon the relation between the wages which he receives and the prices which he must pay for the necessaries of life.

What is the outlook for the export trade? A glance at the facts will answer the question. The export trade has been shrinking since the fiscal year of 1920 when it reached the hitherto unprecedented figure of $8,108,000,000. For the fiscal year 1921 exports were $6,516,000,000. During the first seven calendar months of 1920 exports totaled $4,897,000,000; for the same period in 1921 they totaled $2,856,000,000. To be sure, prices have fallen in the meantime, but the recession in export values is greater than the recession of prices. One thing at least should be clear: there is no immediate prospect of increased foreign purchasing power. On the contrary, it is quite evidently diminishing.

There remains the purchasing power of the home population, and first of the farmers. With the exception of cotton, which is up to 20 cents a pound on a 40-per-cent crop, the prices of the principal farm staples have fallen from 40 to 70 per cent within the year. For example, cattle, which sold for $16 per hundred in July, 1920, were selling for $8.10 in July, 1921; corn, which was selling at $1.52 in July, 1920, sold for 62 cents in July, 1921, and is now bringing around 50 cents; wheat was selling for $2.95 in July, 1920, and a year later for $1.40. The United States Department of Labor Statistics reports a decline in the prices of all farm products of 47 per cent between August, 1920, and August, 1921, which means that the farmer of 1921 has about half of the purchasing power that he had in 1920.

Then there are the salary and wage-workers—between thirty and forty millions of them—who are in the same frying-pan with the farmers. It is impossible to make even an approximation of the reduction made in wages and salaries during the past fifteen months, but it is enough to read of the 30 cents per hour paid by the steel industry as its basic wage, and to see, in Mid-Western cities, advertisements for men at 15 cents per hour and at $2 per day, to realize what has happened to the purchasing power of millions of the workers.

On the other hand there are the unemployed, whose incomes have been entirely cut off. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to the exact number out of work at the present time, but certainly there are at least three times as many unemployed in October, 1921, as there were in July, 1920. If we accept the very conservative figure of the President's Conference and place the number of unemployed at just under four millions, this alone represents a reduced income of not less than five billions, and a corresponding reduction in the purchasing power. Prophecy is quite out of place in these days of rapid change, but so far as present indications are concerned it seems probable that the incomes of American farmers and laborers will be lower in March, 1922, than they are in October, 1921.

What of prices—the prices of the life-essentials? Thus far the costs of the machinery and fertilizer which the farmer must buy and of the food and clothing which the worker must buy have not fallen as much as 40 per cent. Prices are still sinking in many lines, but the decline has been far less precipitous than the fall in farm prices and cannot be classed with the wiping out of the income of some five millions of unemployed. The *Commercial Monthly* for October, 1921, prints these brief comments: "The purchasing power of the farmer has been seriously curtailed for some time to come. . . . It still remains true that the purchasing power of the workers cannot return to the level of the war years for some time to come."

Meanwhile, the income or surplus that might be turned into purchasing power continues to flow into the hands of investors and to solidify itself in the form of new capital. For 1920 the New York *Journal of Commerce* reports new incorporations in the principal Eastern States averaging $1,249,000,000 per month. Even in June, 1921, the figure still stood at $676,000,000. At the same time the payments of interest and dividends, which averaged $148,000,000 per month in 1914; $177,000,000 per month in 1916; $252,000,000 per month in 1918, and $284,000,000 per month in 1920, stood at $289,000,000 per month for the first seven months of 1921. Instead of these vast funds going to people who would use them to buy bread and shoes, they are put into the hands of men and women who have little choice but to invest them.

When will work begin again? A survey of the export trade, of the purchasing power of the farmer, of the economic position of the worker, and of the trend of prices suggests that the question be modified thus: How many more people will be put out of work between this date and March, 1922?

In the ordinary course of economic events, unemployment increases from August or September to February or March. A study of American economic history shows that the periods of recovery after a severe industrial setback are tedious, and sometimes cover four or five years. Mr. W. G. P. Harding, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, writing in *Commerce and Finance* for September 26, 1921, makes this statement: "All history shows that periods of prosperity and depression come in cycles, the rotation being about as follows: (1) Prosperity, (2) liquidation, (3)

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stagnation, and (4) revival. At the present time the process of liquidation is well advanced." If Mr. Harding is right, and the facts seem to bear him out, the stagnation and revival that will stretch over the months or years that intervene between this writing and the restoration of prosperity will add another terrible chapter of misery and suffering for tens of millions who live in the richest of all countries under an economic system that fails to make those riches available for the health and happiness of mankind.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter has been consorting with Filicologicus. Filicologicus has no passion greater than that for ferns. He will brush aside a couple of brown leaves and disclose a few tiny fronds of brown-stemmed maidenhair spleenwort with as much enthusiasm as a mother has for her baby in its crib. He pounds chunks of marble into dust and carefully sprinkles it on his walking ferns, proudly announcing that he has thereby made limestone ledges in a region where limestone does not exist. He toils for hours filling in chinks in an old stone wall and relaying the top of it with flat stones to give a basis for a bed of rock fern or polypody. He laboriously levers huge lichen-covered rocks about to bring them into just the proper relation to a mat of Christmas ferns and a spray of ebony spleenwort. He carefully intertwines the tiny roots of his parasitic wood ferns about an oak root; he even talks of having a plumber run the bath-tub drain into the ground so that its outlet will provide moisture for his cinnamon and sensitive ferns. Filicologicus, when he gets away from his city desk and associates, is a fern fanatic. He gives to his ferns the energy and enthusiasm that he once gave to pacifism and socialism and the other isms with which he pined to save the world. The Drifter's last glimpse was of him earnestly feeding rich decomposing wood to his Goldie's fern. And the Drifter is not sure that Filicologicus is not just as happy as he used to be in the days when he nerved himself to make stump speeches and pored over campaign material of evenings.

* * * * *

NEVER has the Drifter seen richer autumn color than this year. An old farmer, whose science may be as faulty as was his unreproduceable English, explained it to the Drifter. "It's the late frost," he said. "You'll notice the sumachs still hang on to their red leaves. You don't often see sumach still red after the oaks have turned. The frost's so late this year that you have all kinds of trees fair busting with color at once, instead of some dropping their leaves before the others begin." Be that as it may, the oaks and maples and sumachs and dogwoods and sassafras about Filicologicus's hills are gaudy in a pandemonium of scarlets and crimsons that outdazzles all the autumns of the Drifter's memory. Yet he suspects the farmer's science, for the butternut trees are as leafless as if dead, and the red of the climbing woodbine long ago turned to brown.

* * * * *

THE Drifter's newspaper tells him that the Long Island Railroad president believes he can train a corps of millionaire engineers easily before the strike. Somehow the idea rather appeals to the Drifter. He would like to be present while Patrick Hennessey was instructing, say, J. P. Morgan, in the nature and uses of the throttle.

WHEN one of the Drifter's friends passes on such a letter as the following, how, even without gustatory investigation, can he help recommending Signor Marchisio's, at 161 West 49th Street?

Mrs. —— ———

DEAR SIR: Before I chef one Italian noble family. Now I come to America, start the business in my own house, see top of this paper. Everybody speaks me dinners are worth two (2) times. I delighted preparations for you—very fine Italian dishes—no extra charge—but notification a few hours behind. I build for clientele intellectual; they more appreciation my art. Many editors, authors, artists of Metrop. Opera come in my house and I ask you so much come at my table. Then you shall tell many. Vostro devotissimo, SECONDO MARCHISIO.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

How International Issues May Be Settled

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The American Association of Mexico and other self-appointed defenders of American private property rights in Mexico are painfully dissatisfied with recent developments. A few weeks ago representatives of the five largest American oil interests in Mexico arrived, as the result of the direct negotiations with the Mexican Government, at what was described by President Teagle of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey as a settlement which "represented concessions on both sides and was all that could be desired in the circumstances."

But the American Association of Mexico is not satisfied. It complains that the American producers have

1. Acceded to a total tax of more than 100 per cent of the price of oil at the well, "imposts against which the companies protested as confiscatory at a time when oil brought two or three times its present price"; and

2. Apparently completely reversed their earlier position, which "indorsed the requirements laid down by Secretary Hughes as essential to recognition of the Obregon Government."

These are staggering charges. President Teagle and his associates, Mr. E. L. Doheny, president of the Mexican Petroleum Company; Mr. J. W. Van Dyke, president of the Atlantic Refining Company; Mr. H. F. Sinclair, chairman of the Sinclair Consolidated Company, and Mr. Amos L. Beatty, president of the Texas Company, have, if we are to take the American Association of Mexico seriously, grossly betrayed the interests of their stockholders and basely deserted Secretary Hughes.

Has the American Association no sense of humor? We are certain it has not when we read its complaint against the American oil men for having apparently recognized that "the final decision in this matter (taxation) rests with the Mexican Government." How American rights have been sacrificed! Worse still, "one effect of the settlement is that the oil companies have for the first time deviated from their policy of paying taxes under protest on the ground that they were confiscatory and paid under duress, and have now accepted this tax as just!"

The American Association of Mexico has indeed indicted President Teagle and his associates before the bar of public opinion with the heinous crime of not "playing fair" with a weak government.

The Foreign Policy Association feels constrained to plead guilty of having urged for nearly three years through its Committee on Mexico precisely this policy—the settlement of differences with even a backward and wealthy country through frank and friendly discussion rather than by subsidies to bandits, malicious propaganda, and appeals for diplomatic intervention.

New York, September 17 JAMES G. MCDONALD,
Chairman, Foreign Policy Association

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A Fraudulent Cooperative and Its Victims

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the October 15 issue of the *Cooperative Commonwealth*, the official organ of Mr. Parker, appears on the front page an article entitled Cooperators Unite for Defense. This gives the impression that all the cooperative organizations of the country are united in supporting Parker and his colleagues in their defense against the action of the courts. A list of organizations "represented so far at the Defense League" is printed in the third column. Among these is mentioned the "Cooperative League of America."

This is absolutely untrue. The Cooperative League of America, a federation of genuine American cooperative societies, together with every other truly cooperative organization, has bitterly fought the Cooperative Society of America for the past year or more. We have been repeatedly threatened with libel suits, etc., by them on account of the facts regarding their methods which we have been disclosing. Dr. James P. Warbasse, president of the Cooperative League of America, while in Europe personally exposed their representative, who was trying to deceive the British and Continental cooperative societies for his own purposes.

And now we are listed among their defenders!

In the interest of the 81,000 working people who have been fooled and defrauded by this outfit, we wish you would print this letter to give an instance of their abominable methods. We might write columns of similar instances, whereby they have persuaded their dupes to part with their money.

New York, October 21 Albert Sonnichsen

"Absolute Cost"

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Upton Sinclair's "Brass Check" is perhaps the most extravagant example of a species of psychologist's fallacy. Surely he attributed to the press a purposive intelligence far exceeding any it may possess. The great fault of the newspapers is not that they have a pernicious purpose that they set about achieving in a highly efficient manner, but that they have no purpose at all and are preponderately merely national retail agencies for mainly local and mostly always insignificant gossip. Even the "causes" the newspaper now and then espouses are no indicators of a purposive guiding intelligence.

For instance, recently most newspapers, and particularly the New York *World*, were hot on the trail of evanescent profiteers. They industriously flayed the profiteers and condemned them in no unmistakable terms. Yet when a profiteer sends in a full-page self-condemnatory advertisement, they accept it unconsciously without a thought in their heads. Behind Mayor Hylan's Business Revival Week, Deutsch Bros. are selling their stock at "absolute cost" for ten days. In the New York *World* of Sunday, October 9, they announced that furniture selling regularly at $495, $450, $139, and $65 would be sold at their "absolute cost" price of $198, $189, $19.50, and $9.98 respectively.

Upton Sinclair would doubtless find in this instance another example of the vicious commercialism of the press. Rather is it, however, another example of its even more deplorable vice of indifference and its feeble mental caliber. When profiteering forced itself forward as a vital evil, the *World*, as other newspapers, took it up as a matter of course. But that they had no feeling in the matter either way the advertisement of Deutsch Bros. proves beyond cavil. Of course Deutsch Bros. is not the only example. It is only obviously the best.

A "Brass Check" has been written. Another as fiercely trenchant a book needs to be written, proving that the newspapers haven't even the virtue of brass.

New York, October 19 Joseph Ratner

On Bringing Job and Worker Together

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Charles J. Finger's letter to you informs us that "back to the farm" under present conditions is at best no more than jumping out of the fire into the frying-pan, at least in Arkansas.

Maybe it is not so everywhere, but at Free Acres near Summit, New Jersey, we are short of labor, yet we are in the same case. We cannot advise laborers or mechanics to go there. Suppose you, reader, were out of work (as maybe you are) with no money but what you might borrow, maybe with a wife and three children. Would you venture out to rural New Jersey, risking the railroad fares? Where would you stay when you got there (we are also short of houses and there is no hotel)? Would you know what kind of jobs are waiting there, or whether you could do them? Who, that you would be likely to find, could tell you? If you got stranded there, who would lend you the money to get to where you might borrow more? I think you would stay where you are and hunt the off chance of a job in town. Would you not?

Most of the attempts to relieve unemployment are mere attempts to intensify competition for existing jobs. We ought to open up opportunities and relieve production of oppressive taxes.

New York, October 4 Bolton Hall

In Haiti

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A marine who served in Haiti told me he saw the burning there by Americans of a church in which "rebel" native men, women, and children had gathered. The church was fired, he said, under the orders of a captain who was a native of New Orleans and the grandson of a Confederate general. A sergeant and two privates who were ordered to do the thing refused, and a lieutenant finally set fire to the building. An American machine-gun company came up a few minutes later, smashed an entrance into the church, and saved some of the trapped natives, but this marine told me that he thought some were burned to death.

I was in Ireland during the height of the Black-and-Tan rule there, and I have been sickened at our evident attempt to imitate England's shame in our treatment of weaker nations. Surely common sense would argue against placing in Haiti men so hysterical with long-cultivated race prejudice that they have no regard for their country's honor.

Monticello, Indiana, October 8 Mary Henke

What Army and Navy Are For

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your editorial on page 436, in *The Nation* of October 19, you seem to express more or less of surprise that a naval vessel should be used to aid and protect business, as in the case of the gunboat Machias becoming a carrier for a private bank [in Haiti in 1914].

So far as I have ever known, the whole organization of the army and navy is for the protection of business. Who ever heard of the army being sent into a mining district to protect the miners? Who ever heard of the army being sent to strike zones to protect the plain people? Always the regulars are sent to protect property, not to protect people. And this is as true in peace as it is in war.

The whole organization of government is in behalf of commerce and business, and the business that is big enough to own the most Congressmen and administrative officers gets the most protection.

Peoria, Illinois, October 18 Nathan A. Cole

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Books

Beauty and Wizardry

Messer Marco Polo. By Donn Byrne. The Century Company. $1.25.

NOT often does one sustain the sense of having long awaited just the book which time and chance and a kindred desire in another's being have combined to produce at last, and to make at last a vended commodity as easy now to come by as blotting-paper or bad whiskey. I have this sense about "Messer Marco Polo." It is, to me, the most delightful of surprises, a bit of unanticipated flotsam washed up from the wide sunless sea of "realism." Nobody, I think, could possibly have looked for its coming through the auctorial welter—whose susurrus is after all but a more literate vast "Ain't it awful, Mabel"—among those fretful waves of indignation over the dreariness of small-town life and the loneliness of the artist in this unappreciative country, and over how terribly our army swore in Flanders, and over the venality of our press and pulpit and every other institution, and (lonely lisper of good yet to come) over the imminence of several more stupendous wars that will wipe out us and all our sordid existence. And yet through these gray floods of portentous information (here neatly to round off my simile) comes floating this carved spar of loveliness with absolutely startling irrelevance.

That "Messer Marco Polo" should have "happened" at this precise moment seems to me a small miracle so pleasure-giving that I hastily waive all consideration as to the book's ultimate value. I only know that I have joyed in the reading of it, somewhat as the partially starved might rejoice in an unexpected windfall of savory food, without any need to deliberate the viands' durability.

None the less does the tale appear, some two weeks after that first keen greedy gulping of its delights, and after a more leisured second reading, a very fine and beautiful strange book. It is, to summarize, the tale of how young Marco Polo, loitering through youth's amiable iniquities in thirteenth-century Venice, became enamored, through report, of the Khan of Tartary's daughter, and of his adventuring as he crossed Asia to win to her. It is, in brief, the old high tale of Geoffrey Rudel and his Far Princess, adorned with vivid curious ornament, and brought to a denouement no less sad but more soul-contenting.

Yet the essential thing about this book is that it is prodigal in the transforming magic which—heaven knows, in how few books—quite incommunicably lends romantic beauty to this or that not necessarily unusual or fertile theme, somewhat as sunset tinges the wooded and the barren mountain with equal glamor. Mr. Byrne is a practitioner, in fine, of that rare and unteachable wizardry without which one writes only words, and without which the most carefully made sentences tend but to bury one another like neat undertakers.

Technically, though, the construction of "Messer Marco Polo" is to a novelist peculiarly interesting. To Mr. Byrne, in Westchester, N. Y., comes the old Irishman Malachi Campbell of the Long Glen; and it is the Celt who tells of what Cataia seemed to Marco Polo the Venetian in a far golden yesterday. So then does Mr. Byrne set about his magicking, to lure you from the prosaic to the wonderful, and thence to the more wonderful, at last to leave you contentedly cuddled in the lap of the incredible. He raises for you, to begin, the milieu of his Westchester—"the late winter grass, spare, scrofulous, the jerry-built bungalows, the lines of uncomely linen, the blatant advertising boards." It is in, seen through, and continuously colored by, this almost Gopher Prairean atmosphere that Malachi evokes the gleaming world of tall Dermot and Granye of the Bright Breasts and amorous fierce Maeve and Cuchulain in whose heroic looks were love and fire—and evokes thereafter, seen as if beyond and colored by the glow of this Celtic wonderland, not merely the strange opulent sleek life of medieval Venice, "that for riches and treasures was the wonder of the world," but past even that, illuminate and tinged by all, the Venetian's notion of the inscrutable, good-tempered, shining evil East. So near as I can word it, then, this tale is a fantastic and gracious pageant, saddened tenderly by the evanescence of its beauty, seen through three opalescent veils: or rather, what happens—as we upon reflection prefer to have had it happen—in the Chinese jasmine garden by the Lake of Cranes, is viewed through a rose-tinted gauze of medieval fancies seen through thin aureate Celtic mists observed through the unhued but glazing window-panes of a Westchester, N. Y., drawing-room. I am not sure this curious tour de force was worth performing, but I am unshakably convinced that Mr. Byrne "brings it off" to a nicety.

And it is all told, too, in words that are "warm and colored," and are so adroitly marshaled as to drive at least one reader to the confessional. I confess, then, to being uncritically seduced by the fact that Mr. Byrne, without apparent effort or shame, writes perfectly of beautiful happenings and seems no whit afraid of elaborated diction. I confess to thinking that many of the episodes, perhaps most notably the efforts of Marco Polo to convert to Christianity the pagan girl who while he talks is merely conscious of the circumstance that she loves the talker, have a queer and heart-wringing loveliness that is well-nigh intolerable. I confess to finding the brief chapter that bridges seventeen years and winds up the story to "the true rhythm of life" a small masterpiece of wisdom and art. I confess, in fine, to have been so agreeably swept off my feet by this book that I indite every word of its encomium with a teasing faint suspicion that I am almost certainly writing high-pitched nonsense which I shall some day reread with embarrassment.

At all events, while the first rapture lasts, I must profess that I most cordially admire this story, and seem to find no praise too exquisite. You may derive from it a more temperate pleasure, you may not even like "this pseudo-Celtic stuff," and in fact, the tale can hardly appeal to any considerable audience just now, since it "exposes" and "arraigns" nothing whatever. With that I have no concern: it is merely my business to tell you that to my finding "Messer Marco Polo" is a very magically beautiful book.

JAMES BRANCH CABELL

It Was a Glorious Victory

What Really Happened at Paris. By Edward Mandell House and Charles Seymour. Charles Scribner's Sons. $4.50.

The Fruits of Victory. By Norman Angell. The Century Company. $3.

THERE is a certain superficial attraction in the popular contention that the way to peace is to stop talking about responsibility for the war and the Treaty of Versailles. But we cannot start afresh merely by ceasing to talk about the past. If the Treaty of Versailles was unjust, the plea of the victors to everybody to take a fresh start is a good deal like the exhortation of a successful thief that bygones should be allowed to be bygones. The experience of the last few months has made it quite clear that the plainest dictates of self-interest cannot bring about wise economic adjustments of the German indemnity so long as the conviction prevails that Germany was solely responsible for the war and that the peace of Versailles, while not the Magna Carta of the millennium, was at least just in the punishment it meted out to the enemies of mankind. If therefore we are to plan the future we cannot postpone for future research a careful examination of the past. Hence the importance of such a book as "What Really Happened at Paris." The book is a compilation of the addresses of fifteen experts, originally delivered in Philadelphia under the auspices of the *Public Ledger*. These addresses have been edited and published with a cautious foreword by Colonel House.

The title is somewhat misleading, as the addresses are not so much gossipy accounts of happenings at Paris as considera-

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tions of subjects involved in the settlement, as for example the new boundaries of Germany, Poland, Constantinople, and the Balkans, etc. There are obvious advantages in this method of dealing with the peace. Men with special knowledge have set forth with candor their judgment on problems in whose adjudication they played a part. On the other hand, the mosaic method has its disadvantages as regards proportion. It does not present a clear and vivid view of the peace as a whole. Probably as a consequence of this method of compiling the book some important questions, for example Shantung, are either not discussed at all or are barely mentioned. The book's highest level is reached in General Bliss's now famous address on disarmament. He considers the subject not merely as a problem before the peace conference but as an issue vital to the future of mankind. For the rest, space prevents any detailed criticism. There is an admirable article on Fiume and a bad one on Poland. But the most significant addresses in the book deal with financial matters, and by them the whole can be judged. Thomas W. Lamont writes on reparations. He acknowledges that under any reasonable interpretation of "the damage to the civilian populations of the Allies" for which in the armistice Germany admitted her responsibility, pensions could not be included. He admits, furthermore, that other items whose justice was not disputed amounted to the capital sum of twelve to fifteen billion dollars, which is all he thinks Germany can pay. He must have known that the inclusion of pensions creating a debt impossible of payment threatened not only the economic recovery of Europe, but its peace. Yet there is no record that he ever made this point to the President. To him he talked not of economic consequences, not of the stain on our honor incurred by the repudiation of one of the clauses of the armistice, but of logic. "All the logic of the lawyers," he and his companions told the President, "was against it." "Logic! Logic!" exclaimed the President. "I don't give a damn for logic." Mr. Lamont adds: "There was not one of us in the room whose heart did not beat with like feeling." This is no defense of the treaty; it is an admission that a responsible banker charged with a task on which the peace of the world depended yielded his position to a sentimental abhorrence of logic when logic militated against the greed of the Allies. Incidentally the story somewhat detracts from Mr. Lamont's defense of the ability of the President and his willingness to cooperate.

The other financial article on the Economic Settlement by Allen Abbott Young also contains certain candid admissions. He says that "the economic clauses as a whole are unwisely harsh and exacting," but he justifies them as being made necessary by the demands of the Allies. The alternative would have been American withdrawal and a worse treaty or possibly a peace dictated by America which "might have been signed but could not have been accepted."

Here we have the defensive note which runs through the book: compromise was necessary; that the treaty was no worse is to the credit of the Americans. Whether even this position is made good against attack is open to grave doubt. But there can be no doubt that it was genuinely held by the men who advanced it. And they make two other defenses of their work. First, they say, the treaty as a whole contains some valuable new principles, such as the recognition of the right of self-determination, the policy of mandates, and above all the League of Nations. Second, the treaty was better than anything that could have been expected of Germany and represented a higher standard of international diplomacy than, for instance, the Congress at Vienna. To such a pass have been reduced the defenders of the peace which was to end all war! Imperial Germany if victorious might have tried to do worse. But when St. George, having slain the dragon, treats the weak and defenseless much as did the dragon, he can scarcely expect to vindicate his conduct by arguing that it was a few shades less black than the victorious dragon's would have been! As for the suggestion that the Congress of Versailles was better than the Congress of Vienna, we have it on the high authority of Lord Bryce that at least the peace-makers of Vienna knew their business as the Versailles negotiators did not. Moreover, the vanquished French were freely admitted to the conference at Vienna with happy results, whereas all the defeated peoples were excluded from the conference at Versailles, a course of action as disastrous in consequence as it was unfair in principle. As for the valuable principles embodied in the treaty, the comment is to be found in each day's news. Self-determination as applied by the peace-makers was a one-sided affair. It was used when, and only when, its use enabled punishment to be inflicted upon the defeated. Finally it may be observed that the discussion of mandates and the League of Nations advances no new arguments of importance.

The most abiding impression that one receives from the book is this: here are honest men trying to justify a great congress in which they played their part and the best they can say is that the war and its passions were too much for them and their chief. They did something to moderate the wildest excesses of nationalism and vengeance which had been aroused by war and an unexpectedly overwhelming victory. They could not do much. They themselves were not wholly free from the devastating psychological effects of the struggle. It must be admitted that where they failed it is not likely that other men would have succeeded unless they had represented a revolution in men's attitude on the problems of international and economic organization. There was no such revolution in any of the victorious Powers. From this point of view one may speak charitably of the Treaty of Versailles and its makers. Their shortcomings are less conspicuously responsible for its ghastly failures than the underlying economic, political, and spiritual situation. But what one cannot so easily forgive these defenders of Versailles is that they do not make public contrition for misleading us during all the months which preceded the peace conference. The defenders of Versailles belong to the school of liberals who under the leadership of Mr. Wilson assured us that our participation in the war would be a guaranty of victory for righteousness and the end of all war. Now that they have brought forth this peace they cannot expect to escape condemnation by saying that it is the best anyone could do under the circumstances.

How tragic is that best appears more plainly in Norman Angell's "Fruits of Victory" than in any book yet written. Mr. Angell's experience is, in itself, an ironical commentary on human wisdom. Before the war his book "The Great Illusion" was extravagantly praised and extravagantly condemned. Too often both eulogists and critics united in the common and stupid error of supposing that Mr. Angell proved that war was impossible. Then came the war and few were so poor as to do Mr. Angell honor. Yet the war had ended only a little over a year when the London *Daily News* wrote: "After five and a half years in the wilderness Mr. Norman Angell has come back. . . . Today Mr. Angell whether he likes it or not is a prophet whose prophecies have come true. . . . It is hardly possible to open a current newspaper without the eye alighting on some fresh indication of the once despised and rejected doctrine of Norman Angellism."

What is the true doctrine of Norman Angellism? Mr. Angell himself thus states it: "Military preponderance, conquest, as a means to man's most elemental needs—bread, sustenance—is futile, because the processes (exchange, division of labor) to which the dense populations of modern Western society are compelled to resort cannot be exacted by military coercion; they can only operate as the result of a large measure of voluntary acquiescence by the parties concerned. A realization of this truth is indispensable for the restraint of the instinctive pugnacities that hamper human relationship, particularly where nationalism enters."

Now this is a statement which will be generally accepted among thoughtful men; yet the tragic fact remains that it was contemptuously rejected in the great settlement and is today anything but the animating faith of powerful nations. So Mr.

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Angell sets himself the task of examining the fruits of victory. The result is a sobering but essentially optimistic book—sobering, because an examination of world affairs affords no room for Pollyannics and no justification for the sentimental dreams so common during the war; optimistic, because Mr. Angell believes that man has power to secure the peace without which he is doomed. "If our instinctive pugnacities and hates are uncontrollable, and they dictate conduct, no more is to be said." But this opinion Mr. Angell rejects. "While it may be true," he writes, "that conscious economic motives enter very little into the struggle of nations, and are a very small part of the passions of patriotism and nationalism, it is by a realization of the economic truth regarding the indispensable condition of adequate life that those passions will be checked, or redirected and civilized. This does not mean that economic considerations should dominate life, but rather the contrary—that those considerations will dominate it if the economic truth is neglected. A people that starves is a people thinking only of material things—food. The way to dispose of economic preoccupation is to solve the economic problem."

What follows this thesis is an analysis not only of the external facts of the world situation but of the nature of such ideals as patriotism, with suggestions as to the spiritual as well as the economic roots of a lasting settlement. The whole work is characterized by Mr. Angell's usual lucidity of thought and style, patient mastery of facts, and keen insight into motives. The war, he makes clear to the slowest understanding, has made daily bread more uncertain even for the victors; military preponderance cannot secure safety; patriotism is a treacherous ethical guide; English condemnation of German atrocities did not prevent the massacre of Amritsar; the American wrath against German, British, and Turkish atrocities has not stopped lynching or freed Haiti. Such in brief are his conclusions. In one point he frankly admits that the war exceeded his worst expectations. When he wrote the "Great Illusion" he did not expect European conquerors to use their victory to enforce an economic policy whose results would be the impoverishment of thirty or forty million people from which impoverishment the victors themselves suffer only in less degree than the vanquished. Yet it is precisely this which has happened as the result of the Peace of Versailles. The underlying reason has been the rapid development of state capitalism, which, operating in a world obsessed with nationalist psychology, has led to a policy that may yet force a disadvantaged nation to fight or starve.

Our mortal illness cannot be cured by military predominance or a system of balances of power. The remedy lies in partnership. The substitute for physical force is a new trust among nations, and it is for this that Mr. Angell pleads. It might easily be secured but for the blindness of the millions. "Only a keener feeling for truth will enable them to see. About indifferent things—about the dead matter that we handle in our science—we can be honest, impartial, true. That is why we succeed in dealing with matter. But about the things we care for—which are ourselves—our desires and lusts, our patriotisms and hates, we find a harder test of thinking straight and truly. Yet there is the greater need; only by that rectitude shall we be saved. There is no refuge but in truth."

This is the high-water mark of the intellectual argument against international war as a means of attaining its own ends. And the argument is not merely intellectual. Through the book runs a note of insistent yearning for a reasonable world and a deep reverence for truth. And yet somehow one misses an uncompromising summons to men to turn against all war as a thing accursed. The book does not live and breathe with Romain Rolland's devotion to humanity as a finer thing than any patriotism. A note of compromise creeps in. Consider this footnote: "If this were the place to discuss alternative policies [to French imperialism], I should certainly go on to urge that England—and America—should make it plain to France that they are prepared to pledge their power to her defense." No matter how fair these words may sound they open the doors again to conceptions of balance of power. If France, England, and America cannot protect France against Germany by fair dealing and the ideal of partnership, they cannot do it by threat or force for reasons deep rooted in the very psychology of war which Mr. Angell describes. And as one thinks on these things one remembers that Norman Angell was no conscientious objector; his wisdom did not save him from the illusion that, once the war was joined, America's entry would strengthen the forces of liberalism. Norman Angell, in short, is no William Lloyd Garrison, no Romain Rolland, no Gene Debs. What if to his powers of reason he had added their strain of iron determination, their passionate and (if you will) fanatical love of humanity, which made support of any war unthinkable? Perhaps the question is unfair. No man can unite all qualities in himself. If the world is to be saved the pursuit of peace must derive its strength from many sources. One of them, surely, is the argument which Mr. Angell has forever identified with his name.

NORMAN THOMAS

The New Art of Russia

IN the year 1916 a little volume was published in Moscow by the rising poet Vladimir Mayakovsky. It bore the strange title "A Cloud in Trousers," and it contained a long poem in form and style quite new to Russian poetry—something of Walt Whitman, perhaps, but even more chaotic in form, more cosmic in its images, and more daring in its similes. In this poem Mayakovsky loudly proclaimed the advent of his own great self and the advent of a new era in poetry; he also prophesied that

> "Crowned with the thorn-wreath of revolutions
> The seventeenth year will emerge."

The censors objected to the last line, and it had to be changed. So it read:

> "The year such-and-such will emerge."

The precise guess of the poet was more correct than the vague guess of the censors. The year 1916 was already loaded with that dynamite which exploded in 1917.

The existing and acknowledged literature of the day, the different modernistic and decadent schools with their super-aestheticism and intellectual dandyism, were chiefly characteristic of a decaying society. Theirs was the poetry of secluded spots, of palaces amid gardens and parks, rich apartments with soft furniture, expensive rugs, heavy drapery to withhold the vulgar roar of the street, gilded chandeliers, pale fingers on pianos, exotic perfumes, the mysticism of narcotics, sexual emotionalism, semi-nudes in chambers and fur-trimmed ladies in limousines, suburban restaurants with champagne and gypsy choirs. These were surroundings and subjects fit for the gentle muses. Here could be cherished over-refined style, neatly arranged lines, regular rhythm, polished rhyme, exquisitely finished strophes, sonnets, all the standardized forms—frames made to hold within bounds the direct and elemental flow of poetic expression.

It was against this literature in evening dress and starched collars that the new schools, the younger futurist and kindred schools, revolted. Born and proclaimed in the Bohemian cafes of Moscow and Petrograd, these schools were met by the jeerings of an intellectual mob, and the apostles of the new art resorted to such extremities as parading in buffoons' garb, painting their faces green and blue and yellow—anything to "shock the bourgeois." And so came the image of

> "Not a man, but a cloud in trousers."

But there was no program, no definite artistic ideal—simply a forceful, though incoherent and sometimes unintelligible outburst of protest against the old and established, and an unconscious random groping for something new and unusual, out of the ordinary. Such manifestations might have been the smoke preceding the outburst of volcanic activity, or a mere

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transplantation of western European ultra-modernism upon Russian soil. And they would, probably, never have risen to that leading position in Russian literature and in Russian art if it had not been for the social upheaval of 1917. It was the revolution which lent the new Russian art its vigor, its impetus, and its justification. . . . A condition of chaos. An established order tumbling down and a new one rising in supreme exertion to make its way amidst the ruins, groping in darkness and fighting on innumerable fronts: external and internal enemies, economic ruin, starvation, epidemics, every plague known and unknown. Primordial chaos waiting for some God to create a world out of it.

Still there is a mighty, though strange and confused, rhythm in this chaos, a roar of infernal music, a riot of colors decomposed into their primary elements and forming into new and unseen combinations, a shapeless plasticity of movement. What would the old art do with all this? The ancients well knew that "inter arma silent musae." And this was true as long as the muses were looked upon as a respectable and law-abiding lot, strictly following the rules and regulations laid down for them "since the beginning of the ages." It was the task of a new art to make the muses heard amidst the clatter of arms. Cut loose the fetters of old forms, open the chambers where they have been muffled behind heavy drapery, make them join the noisy crowds in the streets, let them roar with the din of battle and riot!

"Into the streets, ye futurists, drummers, and poets!" calls Mayakovsky in his "Manifesto to the Army of the Arts." . . . History in the making. A constant rise and flow of the tide and ebb of events. Ideas born and undone. A new psychology hammered out in the confusion of a lost social equilibrium. An ecstasy of destruction combined with an ecstasy of creation. Translated into the field of the arts this means new words, new combinations of words, ideas, sounds, colors, expressive by their sheer rhythm and music, the rhythm and music of revolution. Once you get into this spirit you no more shrug your shoulders at the apparent incoherency of the futurists, at the suprematistic pictures of Malevich—mere combinations of colors with no reference whatever to "nature," the revolving statues of Tatlin suggestive of the chaos of an age of locomotives, airplanes, and wireless stations.

The new Russian poetry, whether it be futurism or imagism or expressionism, is not individualistic in one sense: that is, its motive power is not the poetic ego with its distorted soul and the pessimism of noble and dissatisfied spirits. Amid the mass of stone and iron making up the modern city, in the jumble of pavements and buildings, a formless mass of humanity is restlessly moving, toiling, roaring, sweating. But this mass in which no individual faces may be distinguished has a great collective soul, primitive, but generating a tremendous force, capable of moving mountains and reshaping the face of the earth—a mass struggling and creating, asserting itself in revolution. And the poet does not put himself outside of it. He does not ascend to the seclusion of the Parnassus. He is carried away by the forceful impetus of this mass, he is drawn into its whirl and identifies himself with it.

"Beat out on streets the trot of rebellion
Impending above all heads of the proud.
We the flood of a second deluge
Will wash through the cities of worlds.
. . . . . .
Drink of joy, sing.
Spring runs in our veins.
Heart, beat, pound,
Our breasts . . . brass resounding."

This is a loose translation and in no way does justice to the rhythm and music of Mayakovsky's original. The rhythm of this revolutionary march is not the regular time-beating of a military band. It is the rhythm of rebellious masses marching not to order but to the impulse of the collective soul. In the first lines the prevailing *b*, *p*, *t*'s and the hard Russian *r*'s are connected by closed *o*'s, giving them a sense of sullenness and tension. In the latter lines the spirit of ecstatic joy is conveyed by the combination of high-sounding *r*'s connected by the open and broad *a*'s. One of the most forceful works of Mayakovsky is his recently published epic "150,000,000," which the poet used to recite in public with the tone of the ancient Russian bards and "byleena"-singers. It is the epic of revolution. But unlike the known epics it does not glorify individual heroes.

"Not to Trotzky,
Nor to Lenin this song.
In battle
I glory the millions,
The millions I see,
The millions I sing."

There is a hero in this epic. His name is Ivan. But this Ivan is a collective personage and not only symbolically taken as such. When, in battle against the old world, he is wounded, armies and armaments pour out of the wound.

"O, woe!
They have sent from Troy of the North
A man-horse stuffed with revolt."

Revolution is intense struggle, a desire for victory, a violent expression of hope. So there is no place for pessimistic mood-making in the poetry of revolution. The active struggling mass with its collective soul is never pessimistic, even though it may be beaten for a time.

In the concluding chapter of the epic the following lines are characteristic of the mass-optimism of the revolution:

"Roaring in an international Zussima
To the bottom went the old fleet.
With factories covering the carcass of Past
The Future roared with billions of blasts.
Call us Abel
Or Cain—
No difference to us.
The Future has come,
The Future victorious.
Centuries!
Bow down to the Future!"

The spirit of collective and mass actions has made its way into the arts, into the drama, as in the "Mystery-Buff" of the same Mayakovsky; in "Stenka Razin," a drama by another futurist, Vassily Kamensky; in "Pugatshov," by the imagist poet Sergey Yessenin. In the theater it was demonstrated in the new and original productions of Lope de Vega's "Fuente Ovejune" by Mardjanov, Verhaeren's "Dawn" by Meyerhold, etc. The problems of art are brought directly to the public, to the mass which is the hero in the new art. These problems are not only heatedly discussed in the cafes of the poets; they are brought up before great public meetings and a direct communication is thus established between the artists and the masses.

The present art of Russia is not the new art as yet. It is a transitional period of destruction and creation out of which looms the dawn of a new art of a creative collectivity. . . .

The so-called proletarian school arose out of the obscurity of the masses laboring in factories and in fields. They have produced a number of talented poets and writers, such as Gastev, Alexandrovsky, Kirillov, Guerassimov, Bessalko, and others. However strange it may sound, this school is more nearly related to classical Russian literature than to the new revolutionary schools. The proletarian poets sing less of revolution, which for them is a matter of course, and more of the factory, the machine, the field. It is optimistic, it has the spirit of collectivity—but it is a collectivity at work and not at rebellion. Brought up upon the classical examples of literature, such writers have adopted the more regular forms of the older schools which correspond to the rhythm of work instead of to the rhythm of revolution.

L. TALMY

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Drama

In the Silences: Duse

IT is, perhaps, a merciful oblivion that follows a great artist into retirement, for genius, when denied, can be strangely devastating. In Eleonora Duse it was like a consuming fire, a sort of counterfeit semblance of the flame that had burned so steadily and so luminously in the immortal years of her activity. This intensity increased after she had decided to return to the stage, especially during those January days in Rome when the indecision of the theatrical trust as to whether she should first reappear in Turin, Milan, or some other artistic center kept her in an agony of impatience. "Le temps passe, et je me brûle," she would exclaim, nervously clasping her hands, and her thoughts would turn longingly toward America, where, to use her own words, "they say 'all right' and it is done!"

Part of this restlessness was doubtless due to the difficulty of choosing a dramatic vehicle that would bridge the ten years of silence, and a part was due to the indifference of the Italian Government, which she was then trying to induce to back a movement somewhat similar to that of the Little Theater over here. For the genius of Duse was too conscious of its maturity and too sincere in its utterance not to reject instinctively the incongruities of youth and passion on the one hand and the cynicism of the modern "grotesquerie" on the other; and yet it was too sensitive to all that lived and breathed and had its being between the back drop and the footlights, not to be profoundly aware of every shifting need. And so it presented the rare and extraordinary spectacle of a great and mature artist seeking to preserve her own artistic identity and integrity in the drama of a past decade, and, at the same time, doing her utmost to further the advanced stage of a new generation. In her enthusiasm she even went to the length of giving an interview, in which she stated that when she went to Paris it was not the Comédie Française but the Vieux Colombier that she visited; and then declared that if a similar project could be started in Italy she would be willing to "volunteer" her services "incognito" —as though Duse could even walk across the stage and remain incognito!

This would indeed be a supreme test, not only of her sincerity but of her strength; for if in former years, as it has been said, after certain nerve-racking performances she would have to be carried, exhausted, from her carriage to her bed, there was now scarcely a rainy or a dull day that did not find her suffering. The tender, fragile spirit that could not portray a fictional tragedy with impunity was not able to live its own more easily. That it still dominated her consciousness was quite evident. "There has been no great poet since D'Annunzio," she said once of the author of the most tragic role in her career, and one felt that his fecund imagination still held her own more poignant one transfixed.

There must, of course, have been a certain bitterness against this man who had so wrecked her peace; but if there was, it had neither corroded nor acidulated her nature. It was more, rather, that the ache of this wound that would not heal gave her no rest. And yet it is doubtful whether such a vibrant and quivering sensibility as hers had ever, even in its supreme rapture, known happiness. Such temperaments seem doomed to an exquisite martyrdom, their sole relief being only in those brief moments when their mortal sensitivity has been transmuted into the divine pigments of their art. As long as Duse had allowed her imaginative powers free and normal play, they had warmed and stimulated the nerve-sick body. Deprived of their creative activity and forced to feed upon the tragic realities of her inner life, they had turned and rended her, destroying her physical vitality, blanching her hair, scarring her face with fine, tiny lines of pain. Only the matchless charm and mobility of that face, the wistful eagerness of the eyes, the unrivaled exquisiteness of voice and hands and gesture remained untouched.

Too late, perhaps, she realized what she herself sadly admitted, that "one should always fulfil one's expression." Perhaps, too, she thought of her older contemporary Bernhardt, so unceasingly "fulfilling her expression," so indomitably arising above her infirmities. For the French artist, however, the problem was much simpler. To her, life was apt to reveal itself as that artificial, sexual life of Paris, with its endless succession of amours unchecked by age, and its numberless externalities to give them reality; so that the Paris stage, being in the main just a counterpart of this life, made it comparatively easy for an old woman with a feeble step to go through the ghastly farce of a "grand passion." But for Duse, existence was inward, intensive, searching, its roots in the bottomless depths of her being, its spiritual essence in her art. More than any other she had brought life itself into the domain of this art. More than any other she had freed it from its fleshly bonds and made it independent of lights and painted properties and speech. And now, although she was neither feeble nor old, feeling that, with her white hair, her worn mask, and matronly figure, "a strong love motive would be out of the question," she chose Ibsen's poetic and passionless "Lady from the Sea," making no pretense of concealing these evidences of middle age, but, instead, depending on that radiant inner force to work its transformation of the flesh. Her triumph was overwhelming, though her appearances, alas, were few. Yet while they lasted an amazed and fortunate public was again permitted to view this miracle of an art that, in its fulfilment, stamped her supreme among great actresses, and, in its denial, the greatest living tragedy of the theater.

HENRIETTA STRAUS

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International Relations Section

Russian-Polish Relations

THE following article by Karl Radek, although printed in the Moscow *Pravda* on September 10, before the decision of the League of Nations in the matter of Upper Silesia, contains much interesting material, and the author's analysis of Poland's foreign policy and its bearing on the internal condition of the country is worth close attention. The article was written as an answer to charges made by the Polish Government and in the Polish press that the Russian Government was carrying on revolutionary intrigues in Poland.

Poland is at present passing through a grave internal and external crisis which is an important element in the world situation.

Economically, she is hanging over the precipice of bankruptcy. Hers is the most undermined capitalistic organism in Europe. This situation is best expressed by the value of the Polish mark in the foreign exchange. The currency of a country which began its existence without a state debt and which produces enough food for its own needs; which has a sufficiency of coal and iron besides large oil deposits, and which could have drawn support from the Entente which created it; a country which could have received through negotiations considerable economic advantage from Germany—the currency of that country is even lower than that of Austria. This terrific decline of the Polish mark is the consequence of a foreign policy, the policy of a megalomania which has never before been equaled.

Poland started its career as an independent state without a state debt, but with an economic system seriously wrecked by the war; and with a population whose masses, because of the damnable Russianizing policy of czarism, had not even received an education equal to that of the Russian workers. Instead of devoting its energies to the unification of the former kingdom of Poland with Galicia and Posen which, previously, had led an independent existence; instead of utilizing the influence which the newly created state had in the United States and France for the purposes of economic regeneration; instead of trying to come to terms with Germany which, after her defeat, for apparent reasons, aimed to maintain friendly relations with all of her neighbors, the Polish Government rushes headlong into a policy of territorial expansion. It carries on a struggle with the Ukrainians for Eastern Galicia, with the Czechs for Galician Silesia, and it fights Soviet Russia for—we do not know what, because White Russia and Volhynia it could have received by peaceful negotiations in 1919. It is absolutely unimportant for the purposes of a realistic appraisement of this policy to consider in this article the question of whether or not Poland had a right to the territories she attempted to seize, or to estimate their value to her. These are all secondary considerations, because, as long as Poland lacked strength for conquering these regions, or, as long as the struggle for them made it impossible for her to consolidate her basic territory, any attempt at expansion was nothing but political enervation, a tendency established many years ago by the leader of the Polish conservatives, Count Tarnovski. Expansion has been carried on without any definite plan. The Polish Government aligned against itself simultaneously Czechs, Germans, Ukrainians, Russians. It even managed to alienate Soviet Russians and White-Guard Russians alike. This policy led Poland to a complete dependency upon French imperialism which was least capable of aiding bourgeois Poland economically.

France, herself, was economically dependent on America, England, and—Germany, whose ability or disability to pay reparations would settle the matter of life or death of France as an independent Power. The gentlemen who are today directing the fate of France, drunk with victory and mortally terrified by the dangers threatening that enfeebled country, are tearing about like madmen, attempting to create a chain of vassal states on which they may base themselves in their policy of struggle for the possession of the European Continent—an idea which is as real as that of the Polish imperialists, aiming to create a Great Poland. This policy of France is doomed to bankruptcy. The dreamers of Warsaw who wished to play a part which exceeded their strength succeeded only in plunging themselves up to their ears in debt for military undertakings, as a result of which they received through war less than they could have had through peace. Already they have lost the coal district of Teshen Silesia and are now losing the Upper Silesian coal region. There is no doubt that the Paris babblers promised more than they could give. France cannot successfully resist England in Europe, as England is on the way to an agreement with the United States. For political reasons, in order to have a base against France, England is beginning to support Germany whose fleet she destroyed; as well as for economic purposes—to utilize the unharmed economic apparatus of German capitalism for her own designs. Without a doubt, by this arrangement, Poland will lose the industrial, the most important, part of Upper Silesia, in spite of the fact that the majority of the working population there are Poles. The economic result of the entire Polish policy of adventures is expressed in a mad rise in the cost of living which is strangling the masses of workers and creating an endless wave of strikes.

In the middle of July, 1921, the Polish press announced to the world with great glee that at last Poland would have a real budget, a budget which would allow her to begin a normal economic life. But now, alas, this budget is no more than a scrap of paper, because the mad race of prices has upset all calculations upon which the budget was based. A wave of strikes is rolling over Poland. The Polish Government blames a hidden hand for these strikes, but even such a faithful dog of Mr. Pilsudski as *Robotnik*, the leading newspaper of the Socialist Party, points out that not only the unions with a class point of view, but even the unions of nationalistic workers, are participating in the organization of strikes. If the Polish Government, speaking of a "hidden hand," is hinting at the activities of the Polish Communists, who are doing their duty to the working class, it may be said that they are doing it under cover only because the Polish Government has driven them underground. If the appeal of the Council of Polish Ministers speaks of "Bolshevist wiles," regarding which it claims to have documents, then it should print these documents and it would be evident that the interpretation by the press of these sinister hints is false. The Polish Government cannot have proof of things that do not exist. By this we come closer to the purpose of this article.

The complete economic and political bankruptcy of the Polish Government has forced a part of its members to understand vaguely the immediate necessity for a change of policy. According to Holland press reports, some of the Polish ministers have begun talking at Cabinet meetings in a manner which no Polish newspaper would dare use. They point out the necessity of putting an end to the policy of adventure. They point out that France can offer nothing other than inferior arms at exorbitant prices. They emphasize that Poland can buy only in those countries whose currency in the foreign exchange is comparatively low, i. e., Germany, with whom it is necessary to make a deal regarding Upper Silesia, instead of increasing economic disorganization by a fruitless struggle. They endeavor to obtain a peaceful policy toward Soviet Russia, a country with a currency even lower than that of Poland and therefore accessible to the Polish manufacturers who are now buying raw materials under a serious handicap. It seems that the Polish Government would follow these voices of reason. But the events of recent weeks indicate that the bankrupts of the "Belvedere," Pilsudski's clique, still have sufficient influence in

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the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to sabotage the beginnings of a saner policy.

The Polish Government received the Soviet Mission with a series of stupid, rude incidents. Not only does it not live up to the Riga Treaty, but, by further maintaining Savinkov, it tries to prove to us that it does not intend to give up its old tricks. In reply to the demand of the Soviet Government to end the Savinkov affair, the Polish Government puts into motion its entire press, which not only writes in a threatening tone against Russia but throws mud on the Russian people in general. A scoundrel who is hiding under the pseudonym, Koretski, and who does not conceal the fact that he is a member of the Polish Mission [in Moscow], dares to write that the Russians are a "plagued people." Finally, in order to mask their intrigues with Savinkov, the Polish Government charges that a certain organization named "Zakordot," which the Polish Minister calls a Soviet institution, is carrying on revolutionary work in Poland. We do not know what this "Zakordot" is, nor who this formidable Mr. Marcus from Kharkov is, who threaten the life of the Polish Government, but if this organization does exist outside the imagination of spies, if it really does engage in the work described by the Polish Government, the Soviet Government will not hesitate to close it down, because it concluded the Riga Peace in order to attain honest and friendly relations with Poland. But the Soviet Government is obliged to demand on its part that the Polish Government fulfil its obligations and end its unworthy policy of nagging, quibbling, and surreptitious practices.

The Polish rattling of the saber does not scare even the chickens in Moscow. Hardly able to cope with the huge wave of strikes, Poland is as able to war as a paralytic is to dance. This is known to the Polish press, and it speaks not of war but of breaking off diplomatic relations. The breaking off of diplomatic relations without war would be, for Soviet Russia, a blow only if the Polish market were essential to her. The Polish market does not present any advantages to us, and if Soviet Russia intends to make use of it, it is only because to her it is important to end all possibility of military adventure. Russia is endeavoring to attain peace on its entire western frontier, and it knows that a firm peace with Poland will hasten a peace with Rumania also. For Poland, all quibbling with Russia, even of a purely diplomatic character, is pregnant with the gravest dangers. Holland has just postponed negotiations regarding a loan because of the strikes. Do the formidable gentlemen of the Polish press think that the Dutch will hasten to make a loan when they learn that Mr. Pilsudski is planning a new campaign against Kiev? Should they hope for loans from France, let them remember that French cannon (and the French can give nothing else) have already been given a fair trial as an instrument for reestablishing Polish economic life.

The Government of Soviet Russia is not afraid of Polish threats; it is not seeking a war nor even a diplomatic quarrel. Of all Russian factions, the Soviet Government alone has accepted and is ready to live up to the Riga Peace agreement. It is ready now to help remove all misunderstandings if only the other side will show a reasonableness it has hitherto completely lacked.

We hope that Mr. Philipovich, the Polish ambassador, has enough common sense and calm judgment not to be affected by the cries of the White Guard press about the instability of the Soviet Government. At least he displayed these qualities last year in the report which he made upon his return to Warsaw from Russia. We, on our part, are not speculating, in spite of the recent momentous events in Warsaw, on the immediate fall of the Polish Government. Furthermore, we are willing to leave the question of social changes in Poland to the Polish people themselves.

Only on this basis can we hope for an allaying of conflicts and the beginning of peaceful relations so needed by the Polish and Russian people.

Russia's New Industrial Policy

IN an interview given to the *Krasnaia Gazeta* in August the People's Commissar of Foreign Trade, L. Krassin, explained the new method adopted by the Soviet Government in the organization of large-scale industry. As an example of the working of the new plan M. Krassin described the organization of the linen industry.

The larger spinning and weaving shops are grouped in an autonomous organization entirely free of state control except for the fact that the All-Russian Central Executive Committee chooses the directors from nominations made by the Chief Textile Union and the Central Committee of Trade Unions. The organization will obtain fuel from cooperatives, "artels" (small producers' guilds), and from private traders by exchange. In the same way it will exchange yarn and cloth for food, dealing with the peasants through the Centrosoyus (the central cooperative organization) and through the local workers' cooperatives. It will also deal abroad by permission of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade. It will sell surplus stocks of combed flax and combings not required for immediate production, and buy food, machines, and a certain amount of clothing abroad.

The smaller linen establishments are not under the control of this organization, but will be leased to cooperatives or individuals, the rent payable being a percentage of each year's production.

The decree establishing this organization for the linen industry was worked out by the Council of Labor and Defense toward the end of July. We quote below some of the more important clauses of the regulations issued by the Council of People's Commissars relating to the new industrial policy.

CLAUSE 4. (a) The state as represented by the Supreme Economic Council and its local institutions concentrates under its direct control certain branches of industry and certain large enterprises specially important to the state, as well as subsidiary enterprises.

(b) These enterprises are conducted on strict business principles.

(c) The Supreme Economic Council and its local institutions may start and run undertakings, only in so far as they are provided, according to the national plan, with materials, provisions, and funds both from the state organizations and from other sources (their own production, open markets, etc.). In order to supplement what they obtain from the state, the enterprises or their directing bodies are entitled to realize a part of their own produce, within the limits fixed by the state, and with the proceeds they may buy the articles they require, either in Russia or abroad, securing raw materials and fuel through their own organization and foodstuffs through the Centrosoyus.

(d) All kinds of supplies for workmen except clothing-outfits for work are counted as a part of wages (on the basis of collective payment); at the same time workers in these enterprises should be provided with supplies sufficient to insure their taking an interest in the production and to stimulate individual output. The supplies are distributed to individual workers and to groups of workers in accordance with the output achieved.

(e) The supply of workmen with provisions and clothing is carried out by all local departments of the Food Commissariat through the works-management, which must apply, in their distribution, the rates fixed by trade unions.

CLAUSE 5. Enterprises not included in the above groups must be leased to cooperative societies, workers' associations, and similar unions, as well as to private persons, on the conditions provided in the decree on the leasing of enterprises and the instructions issued by the Supreme Economic Council. Single undertakings or branches of industry may be exempted from the application of this rule by the Supreme Economic Council

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and its local institutions. Soviet institutions must apply this decree energetically and without hesitation to all undertakings which cannot be started or run by Soviet economic organizations, in order that the state mechanism may be relieved of small enterprises and works.

CLAUSE 8. The All-Russian Council of Trade Unions must examine the question of conditions of life and work applying to workers in enterprises let on lease or on the basis of concessions agreements. This examination should take for its basis collective agreements between trade unions and the administration of the enterprise.

CLAUSE 15. The carrying out of all the above rules, including the taking of decisions as to particular enterprises being left under the direct control of the state or being leased or closed down, as well as the fixing of rates of supply and payment for work, is to be effected in close cooperation with the trade unions.

Workmen's Insurance in Mexico

THIS projected law for workmen's insurance, drawn up by President Obregon, is to be incorporated in the Mexican Constitution as a by-law, amplifying the provisions of Sections 7 and 9 of Article 123.

WHEREAS, The position of the worker in our country is in general extremely difficult because his scant pay scarcely enables him to purchase his most urgent necessities, and this situation is aggravated by the absence of habits of thrift which are indispensable for insurance against future misfortunes, unemployment, or the natural disability caused by old age;

WHEREAS, Sections 7 and 9 of Article 123 of the Federal Constitution propose to remedy this situation by granting to the worker a share of the profits in the concern where he works; but up to the present time it has been impossible to carry out the provisions of this constitutional law, because it is very difficult to determine these profits, and furthermore, even in cases where it has been possible to determine them, it gives rise to constant conflicts between capital and labor, producing discussions and disagreements which the law should avoid or else solve in a conciliatory way advantageous to both sides;

WHEREAS, also, A prudent calculation would allow a man twenty or thirty years of work, and a saving of 10 per cent of a worker's wages during this active period is enough to create a small reserve for him to save against the trials of old age and at the same time to provide for his family and make him accustomed to saving, which is so necessary for our people;

Be it resolved that:

1. Every man or group that employs human labor, whether it is the Government, a commercial organization, or a private individual, must pay 10 per cent on the wages or fixed salaries of all classes of employees, in addition to all payments made for labor, and this amount shall be paid to the worker in the form of stamps authorized by this law.

The only exception to this 10 per cent increase is the Government pay for the national army, in view of the fact that these men are already provided for in the ordinance which establishes payments for pensions.

2. Every employer of human labor, whether professional, technical, manual, domestic, or any other kind, must obtain the special labor stamps, to be given to employees in payment of the 10 per cent in addition to the total amount of the wages or salaries paid up to date or to be paid in the future.

3. The Department of Labor or its branch office shall supervise the distribution and sale of the labor stamps, and shall see that they may be easily obtained throughout the republic, making use of the principal post offices for the purpose.

4. The additional payment of 10 per cent on all classes of wages or salaries must be made by means of the stamps referred to in the preceding articles, which shall in each case be given to the workers. The employer shall obtain a book in which he shall record all payments made for labor, and keep the stubs of the labor stamps, making a monthly report on these payments to the corresponding office of the Department of Labor. The employee shall keep the main part of the stamp, which he shall paste in a little book made especially for the purpose by the Department of Labor.

5. The workers must present to the respective offices of the Department of Labor the booklets containing the stamps which they have received, so that the Department may open a current account for each worker, amounting to the value of his stamps.

6. One year after this law has gone into effect the Department of Labor shall supply each worker with a policy, containing a statement of the rights and obligations which this law confers upon the worker and the other interested parties, and on the back of these policies shall be recorded annually the amount owing to the worker in accordance with the number of stamps received during the year. On these same policies shall also be recorded the name of the beneficiary or beneficiaries to whom the sum total of the savings of the worker shall go in case of his death, and the exact relation between the holder of the policy and the beneficiaries.

7. The obligation imposed on the employers to pay the additional 10 per cent to all classes of wages or salaries shall serve to determine the profits referred to in Sections 7 and 9 of Article 123 of the Constitution, and consequently this additional payment of 10 per cent shall fulfil the obligation referred to and shall exempt employers and manufacturers from any official investigation of their books for this purpose.

8. The total amount of the additional payments established by this law shall be taken over by the Department of Labor by means of the sale of the stamps already referred to, and shall be disposed of by this Department, which can deposit it with the proper securities at a rate of interest not less than 4 per cent annually.

9. The interest accruing from the capital invested in the manner provided for in the previous article shall be used to cover the expenses of administration for workmen's insurance, and the surplus, if there should be any, shall be used in the construction of necessary buildings, and anything left over after that shall be capitalized for the benefit of the interested parties.

10. A vigilance committee shall be created, composed of a delegate from the industrial chambers, another from the chambers of commerce, another from the federal employees represented by a nominee of the Secretary of Commerce, another representing the professional class, and the other to be named by the workers' confederations.

11. The savings fund maintained for each worker in accordance with the provisions of this law shall be withdrawn only under the following circumstances:

(a) If the worker is permanently incapacitated for work, through accident or incurable illness;

(b) In case of natural disability caused by old age, or if the worker has completed his sixtieth year;

(c) In case of the death of the worker.

12. Workers incapacitated in a manner described in the preceding Article can withdraw the entire amount of their savings as represented in the current account with the Department of Labor, after comparing this account with the stamps which they have been keeping, and with the statements and amounts recorded annually on their policies.

13. In case of the death of the worker the beneficiary named on the policy shall receive the amount owing to the worker, without the necessity of any further steps than identification before the Department of Labor and without the need of testamentary proceedings, except when the beneficiary is a minor, and even in this case proof of parentage or the naming of the guardian shall suffice for payment.

14. This law shall be considered as a part of Sections 7 and 9 of Article 123 of the Constitution and shall be obligatory throughout the republic six months after its promulgation.

June 2, 1921 ALVARO OBREGON

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The New Education Law in Yucatan

AS an interesting example of the progressive legislation promulgated during recent months in Mexico, we print the text of the new law for educational reform in the state of Yucatan.

ARTICLE 1. The instruction offered by the state in its primary schools shall henceforth be practical, that is, it shall be based on manual work to be carried on by the children for the express purpose of awakening professional aptitude and starting the development of their necessary capacities, as well as aiding in the complete education of the pupils.

The state primary schools shall be equipped with shops for the various manual occupations, laboratories, gardens, farms, in fact all buildings and space necessary for the fulfilment of the tasks allotted them.

School work and the maintenance of order shall be based on the principle of liberty, and scholastic affairs of an administrative or economic character shall be decided in assemblies of pupils. The scientific theories taught the children shall be the result of experiments and applied work in the shop as well as of observations from nature.

Scientific knowledge shall not follow the logical order hitherto observed by the programs, but such knowledge shall be assimilated because the suitable opportunity presents itself or because the pupils ask for it; in cases where order must be observed in scientific teaching, it shall follow the relation between the sciences in accordance with the positive school and with the conclusions of Muller's biogenetic theory.

The grouping of pupils shall not be based on the number of rules that they know by heart, but on the degree of spontaneous development of their natural talents in the school work.

ART. 2. The political education taught in the schools shall not be confined to the explanation of governmental authority and the rights and privileges of the citizen, but shall include also a knowledge of the rules of social well-being contained in Article 123 of the Constitution and of the moral principle which holds that private property shall be suppressed when it is injurious to society, as contained in Article 27 of the Constitution.

Priests and people belonging to religious and monastic orders shall in no case be allowed to teach in private or public schools.

SUPPLEMENTARY

ARTICLE 1. Municipalities of the state may in the course of six months following the promulgation of this law organize primary schools in cooperation with the Department of Public Education on the bases herein established.

Municipalities lacking the funds to carry out this work shall apply to the state executive for aid.

ART. 2. The state executive is authorized to enforce this law and to organize through the Department of Public Education preparatory courses for teachers, so that they may become familiar with the methods needed for its application.

ART. 3. All laws and decrees conflicting with this law are hereby abrogated.

Merida, March 23, 1921

The Socialist-Fascisti Truce in Italy

IN order to bring about a resumption of the normal activities of political parties and economic organizations in Italy, the representatives of the National Council of the Fasci di Combattimento, of the Fascisti parliamentary group, of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, of the Socialist parliamentary group, and of the General Confederation of Labor met under the chairmanship of Enrico de Nicola, president of the Italian Chamber. The leaders of the Communist parliamentary group, the representatives of the Popular parliamentary group, and the Republican deputies, who were also invited, declined, the latter two on the ground that only those groups which had been directly engaged in the struggle should take part in the negotiations. Although the following agreement was reached, the practical effect of the negotiations has not been satisfactory; riots and murders continue to occur in many districts. The text of the agreement was published in *Avanti* (Milan) for August 4.

1. It is resolved here to repeat and confirm the official communication of July 28, which settles a question raised by the Fascisti concerning the relations between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. (See attached document.)

2. The five representatives, appointed as above, engage to take steps without delay to put an end immediately to threats, acts of violence, reprisals, chastisement, vengeance, extortion, and personal violence of all kinds.

3. The badges, emblems, and banners of each party shall be respected. In accordance with this resolution requests are made and proposals formulated regarding the flying of flags on public buildings, but the president makes the reservation that such questions, which fall within the exclusive competence of the Government and Parliament, cannot be settled by an agreement between political parties.

4. The parties engage mutually to respect economic organizations.

5. All actions aiming at and tending to the violation of the present pledges and agreement are henceforward disavowed and deplored by the various representatives.

The Socialist Party declares itself to be in no way connected with the organization and activities of the "People's Arditi," as is borne out by their own contentions, which declare that they are not connected with any party.

6. All breaches of these terms shall be immediately referred to the judgment of arbitrators, who shall determine the responsibility and whose judgment shall be published.

7. For this purpose the political and economic organizations of each party shall join in constituting an arbitration tribunal in every province, composed of two representatives of the Socialist Party and two of the Fascisti Party, presided over by a person chosen by common agreement, or, failing this, nominated by the president of the chamber. If within fifteen days from today the parties shall not have appointed their arbitrators the nominations shall be made by the undersigned representatives.

8. All local agreements which are not in exact accordance with the spirit of the present pact shall be annulled.

9. The organizations engage not to oppose with violence the effectual reinstatement of officials, if it can be legally proved that they were compelled by force to resign public office.

10. The parties mutually engage to restore all objects of value belonging to organizations and injured persons which may be found in the possession of the organizations or of individuals.

11. The undersigned representatives will ask for confirmation by their respective political parties of the spirit of the present pact in order that its object may be the more easily attained.

The above is published in the press with the earnest desire that all may understand to what extent this serious problem calls for the enforcement of this word of peace, and that they may abide by it.

Rome, In the room of the president of the chamber at Montecitorio, August 3, 1921.

Below is the attached document referred to at the beginning of the pact:

In a letter of July 24 the Committee of the Fascisti Parliamentary Group stated to the Honorable De Nicola that before resuming, and possibly concluding, peace negotiations, it was necessary that the opposing party should give certain explanations on the following questions:

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1. Regarding the meaning and limitations of the solidarity, announced through the Honorable Modigliani, of the Socialists with the Communists, whose aims are declared to be incompatible with pacification.

2. Regarding possible relations between the Italian Socialist Party and the organization in process of formation of those called "People's Arditi," an organization which is daily growing with the support of many organs of the Socialist Party.

3. Regarding the attitude of the organs of the Socialist Party, including the daily press, which by a one-sided chronicle of events and editorial comment embitters the general situation instead of alleviating it.

The Honorable De Nicola will remember that the second and third questions refer to matters which are to be defined in the discussions on the merits of the pact, and that only the first demand is of a preliminary character, thus requiring a reply before the resumption of negotiations; that this reply was hastily demanded from the Honorable Bacci, who declares that if the demand was of an official nature it ought to have been presented to the Executive of the Socialist Party, but that if instead, to avoid delay, appeal had been made to him in his official capacity he would have had no difficulty in explaining the views of his party executive on the words of the Honorable Modigliani.

The Honorable Bacci declared that the Socialist Party identified itself with the statement of the Honorable Modigliani, that it had no other meaning except that, if the Fascisti movement should suppress and use violence against the free expression of Communist views, as in the case of any other views whatever, the Socialist Party would stand up to the Fascisti movement, all the more because the party attacked was weak.

The Honorable De Nicola communicated the declaration of the Honorable Bacci to the Committee of the Fascisti Parliamentary Group. The Honorable Giuriati informed him that the Committee had taken cognizance of the declaration. The matter was, therefore, cleared up. . . .

France in Syria

THE *Progrès Civique* (Paris) for September 3, printed, under the caption Thus They Make France Loved in Syria, the following:

Late in June an attempt was made to assassinate General Gouraud [commander of the French troops in Syria]. After this incident, the [official] Press Bureau of Damascus gave the following communique to the newspapers:

"On June 23 a band of criminals appeared upon the Kuneitra road, coming from Transjordania. After carrying out their plot they returned the same day to Ageloum. The results of the inquiry and the sanctions adopted are as follows:

"Colonel Rocrou's column left Damascus June 23 and reached Kuneitra June 26. The localities of Jabat El-Kashab, Goumafie, Trank, Majhar, and Shihani, which gave asylum to the Kuneitra criminals and made themselves accomplices in the crime, were destroyed by order of the General and High Commissioner. The property of their inhabitants has been sequestrated, and each of these towns has been condemned to pay an indemnity of from 50 to 100 gold pounds. On June 27 the column destroyed 17 hamlets in Jabat El-Kashab, Artania, and Trank. On June 29 the column went to Mejdel, Shams, and Jebhat El-Zet. June 30 it returned to Kuneitra where it confiscated the captured goods."

The *Progrès Civique* comments:

We have always declared that the maintenance of a French Expeditionary Corps in Syria, apart from the fact that in foreign eyes it justified to a degree the charge of French imperialism, would end in destroying our secular influence in the Levant. The executions ordered by General Gouraud are dishonoring.

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